

VĚRA KUBÍČKOVÁ

PERSIAN LITERATURE OF THE  
20TH CENTURY

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by Jan Rypka

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When in 1959 this article appeared in J. Rypka's *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 341-389), it constituted the first attempt to present a summary of modern Persian literature up to the middle of the 1950s. Bearing this in mind, the present, slightly revised English version may be justified, though modifications of some of the views expressed are really called for as a consequence of the continued development of Persian literature on the one hand, and on the other because of the considerable growth of interest recently displayed in the subject by researchers at home and abroad.

V.K.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh. — Abhandlungen  
 Abt. — Abteilung  
 ADTD — *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*  
 Ak. der W. und der L. — Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur  
 AN SSSR; AzSSR; Gruz SSR; TadzhSSR; Uzb SSR — Akademiya Nauk SSSR (= USSR); Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR; Gruzinskoy (= Georgian) SSR; Tadzhikskoy SSR; Uzbeks-koy SSR  
 Annali (Napoli) — *Annali dell' Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli*  
 Antol. — *Antologia tadzhikskoy poezii* (see Bibl., D IIa)  
 AR — *The Asiatic Review*  
 Arb. — A. J. Arberry, *Persian Books, Catalogue of the Library of the India Office* (see Bibl. B 1)  
 Arm. — *Armaghān*  
 ArOr. — *Archiv Orientalní*  
 ASAW — *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*  
 b. — *ibn* ['son']  
 B. — Berlin  
 BAS — *Baroi adabiëti sotsialisti* (see Bibl., D IIb)  
 BEO Damas — *Bulletin d'études orientales. Institut français de Damas*  
 BI — *Bibliotheca Indica*  
 bibl. — bibliography  
 BOE — *Bibliothèque orientale Elzévierienne*  
 BSL — *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*  
 BSO(A)S — *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*, London  
 CAJ — *Central Asiatic Journal*  
 CAR — *Central Asian Review*  
 coll. publ. — collective publication  
 cont., contin. — continuation(s)  
 CPL — A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (see Bibl., B v)  
 DAN — *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR*  
 DRAN — *Doklady Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*  
 ed. — edition, edited, editor  
 EI — *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (see Bibl., B 1)  
 Ermit. — see below, s.v. 'Gos. Erm.'  
 Ethé — H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (see Bibl., B v)  
 Fihrist — Ibn an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. by G. Flügel (Leipzig 1871-2)  
 FIZ — *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*  
 FO — *Folia Orientalia*  
 GAL — C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (see Bibl., B 1)  
 GIPh — *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (see Bibl., B, p. 757)  
 GM(N)S — E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (New) Series  
 Gos.Erm. — Gosudarstvennyy Ermitazh, Leningrad  
 GSAI — *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana*  
 Hikmat — 'A.-A. Hikmat's translation of *LHP*, III (see Bibl., B v, s.v. 'E. G. Browne')

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Hist.-filol.Medd.* — *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabelnes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*
- Horn — Paul Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur* (see Bibl., B v)
- hrsg. — herausgegeben
- IA — *İslam Ansiklopedisi*
- IAN OGN; — OON; — OLY — *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, otdeleniye gumanitarnikh nauk; — otdeleniye obshchestvennikh nauk; — otdeleniye literaturi i yazika*
- IC — *Islamic Culture*
- IEFD — *İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*
- IHRC Procs. — *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*
- IIFL — Georg Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* (Oslo 1929-1956) (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning)
- ILG — Jan Rypka et al., *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (see Bibl., B v)
- IPTL — Ye. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannyye trudy: Istoriya persidsko-tadzhikskoy literatury* (see Bibl., B v)
- Isl. — *Der Islam*
- Ist.Uzb. — *Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR* (see Bibl., D Ia)
- IVV — Institut vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR
- Izv. — *Izvestiya*
- Izv.Tadzh. — *Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennikh nauk Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoy SSR, Dushanbe*
- JA — *Journal asiatique*
- JAH — *Journal of Asian History*
- JAOS — *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JASP — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*
- JPHS — *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*
- JRAS — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London*
- J(R)ASB — *Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal*
- JRCentr.AS — *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*
- Karatay — F. E. Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi ... kataloğu* (see Bibl., B i)
- Kit. — *Kitābhā-i māh* (see Bibl., B i)
- Kl. — Klasse
- Krimskiy — A. Krimskiy, *Istoriya Persii* (see Bibl., B v)
- Krims'kiy (Ukr.) — A. Krims'kiy, *Istoriya Persiyyi* (see Bibl., B v)
- KS — *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR, resp. Instituta narodov Azii*
- KSIE — *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta etnografii*
- L. — Leningrad
- LGU — Leningradskiy gosudarstvenniy universitet
- LHP — E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (see Bibl., B v)
- Lit.Ir. — *Literatura Irana X-XV vv.* (see Bibl., B via)
- lith. — lithograph
- Lpz. — Leipzig
- M. — Moscow
- MDASh — *Majalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Shirāz*
- MDAT — *Majalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tih-rān*
- MEA — *Middle Eastern Affairs*
- MEJ — *Middle Eastern Journal*
- Mél. — *Mélanges*
- Memoirs ASB — *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
- MSOS — *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Westasiatische Studien, Berlin*
- MS(S). — manuscript(s)
- MTA — Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
- M. va M. — *Maorif va Madaniyat* (see Bibl., D IIIa)
- MW — *The Muslim World*
- NAA — *Narodī Azii i Afriki*
- Namuna — *Namunahoi adabiēti tojik* (see Bibl., D IIa)
- n.d. — not dated
- NDAT — *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabriz*
- NKNI — *Nukhustin kongre-i navisandagān-i Irān* (Tehran 1325)
- NO — *Nový Orient*
- NY — *List of Works in the New York Public Library* (see Bibl., B i)
- OCM — *Oriental College Magazine*

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- OITL* — I. S. Braginskiy, *Ocherki iz istorii tadzhikskoy literatury* (see Bibl., D IIIa)  
*OLZ* — *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*  
*OM* — *Oriente moderno*  
 per. — perevod, perevël ('translation', 'translated')  
*Przegl.Or.* — *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*  
*PV* — *Problemy vostokovedeniya*  
*RANL* — *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Scienze morali*  
 red. — redaction, redactor  
*REI* — *Revue des études islamiques*  
 repr. — reprinted  
*RES* — *Revue des études sémitiques*  
 rev. — revised  
*RK* — *Rāhnāmā-i kitāb*  
*RMM* — *Revue du monde musulman*  
*ROr.* — *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*  
*RRAL* — *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia de Lincei*  
*RSO* — *Rivista degli studi orientali*  
*Sabk* — Muḥ. Taqī Bahār, *Sabk-shināsi* (see Bibl., B IV)  
*Şafā* — Dh.Şafā, *Ta'riḫ-i adabiyāt dar Irān* (see Bibl., B V)  
*Sb.* — *Sbornik*  
*SBAW* — *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*  
*Shibli* — Shibli Nu'māni, *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* (see Bibl., B V)  
*ShS* — *Sharḡi surkh* (see Bibl., D IIIb)  
*s.l.* — *sine loco*  
*ŞM* — *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*  
*Sobr. vost. rukop.* — *Sobraniye vostochnikh rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR, Tashkent*  
*Spraw. Pols. Ak. Umiej* — *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umijetnosci*  
*SSh* — *Sadoi Sharq* (see Bibl., D IIIb)  
*St.* — *Stalinobod (Stalinabad)*  
*Storey* — C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature* (see Bibl., B V)  
*SV* — *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*  
*T.* — *Tashkent*  
*Thr.* — *Tehran*  
*TIE* — *Trudy Instituta etnografii*  
*TIYa* — *Trudy Instituta yazykoznaniya*  
*TM* — *Türkiyat Mecmuası*  
*TMIV* — *Trudy Moskovskogo Instituta vostokovedeniya*  
*TOV* — *Trudy Otdela Vostoka, Gos. Erm., Leningrad*  
 trad. — traduction, traduit  
*TS* — *Tojikistoni soveti* (see Bibl., D IIIb)  
*TTK* — *Türk Tarih Kurumu*  
*UAS* — *Uralic and Altaic Series (Indiana University Publications)*  
 übers. — übersetzt  
 Univ. — university publications, in particular: *Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihārān*  
*UZIV* — *Uchēniye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow*  
 v., vv. — vek, veky ('century', 'centuries')  
*VoIst.* — *Voprosy istorii*  
*WZKM* — *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*  
*ZDMG* — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*  
*ZfA* — *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*  
*ZIV* — *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*  
*ZKV* — *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskoy Muzei Akademii Nauk, Leningrad*  
*ZVORAO* — *Zapiski vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*  
 ≅ — indicates that the work referred to has been lithographed or printed several times in India, in Iran or in other Oriental countries.

(For a supplementary list of abbreviations, used only in the section on Persian Learned Literature, see p. 423, note 2)

## GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

The spelling of Persian names, titles etc. in this work is based on a system of strict transliteration from the Arabic script. Geographic, ethnic and dynastic names, however, are usually given in a form which is current in English.

In pronouncing the transliterated Persian words the following rules should be observed:

1. *ā*, *ī* and *ū* are long vowels approximately like the English vowels in *barred*, *beat* and *booed*; the ancient *majhūl* vowels *ē* and *ō* (like English *ai* and *oa* in *raid* and *road*) have been disregarded as far as New Persian is concerned, with the exception of the section on Indo-Persian literature (pp. 711–734) | *au* and *ay* are diphthongs.
2. *zh* = French *j* in *jour*.
3. *t* = *t* | *th* and *s* = *s* | *z*, *d* and *dh* = *z*.
4. *gh* and *q* (Arabic *ghayn* and *qāf*) constitute a single phoneme in modern Persian: a voiced or unvoiced uvular plosive sounding like German *g* in *Tage* | *h* = *h*, pronounced in all positions | *kh* = Scottish *ch* in *loch*.
5. ' and ' (Arabic *hamza* and 'ayn) represent a *hiatus* between two vowels or the lengthening of a preceding short vowel before a consonant; otherwise they are to be disregarded in pronunciation.

In the section on Ancient and Middle Iranian literature (pp. 1–67) some additional rules have been applied:

1. *ə* = a short intermediate vowel approximately like English *u* in *but* | *q* = a nasalised vowel like French *en* | *r* (in Old Iranian and Old Indic) = a retroflected *r* used as a vowel.
2. *š* (in Khotanese and Old Indic) = *sh*.
3. *th* = English *th* in *thing*.
4. *n̄* = *ng*.

In the section on Tajik literature (pp. 483–605) a different system of transliteration has been adopted, based on the current orthography of the Tajik language. The following rules are only valid in that section:

1. *o* (Persian *ā*) and *e* are always long vowels | long *i* is exclusively used at the end of a word; the short *i* in that position marks the *izofa* (*iḏāfat*) | *ū* = a labialised long vowel lower than *u* and higher than *o* | *ē* = *yo* (Persian *yā*) | *ī* (in diphthongs) = *y*.



## GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

2. ' = cyrillic ъ written both for etymological *hamza* and 'ayn | ' = cyrillic ъ, the so-called *alomati judoi*, a punctuation point placed before ě, я (*ya*) and ю (*yu*): e.g. *bis'ër*.

3. *gh* and *q* are still separate phonemes in Tajik.

This system has also been applied to names and titles belonging to the older periods of Tajik literature when the Arabic script was still in use: e.g. *Badoe'-ul-vaqoe'* instead of *Badāyi'u'l-vaqāyi'*.

In Turkish words:

1. *ı* (in the Latin alphabet of Turkey), *i* (in the Turkic languages of the Soviet Union) = an unrounded intermediate vowel like Russian ы (here also transcribed as *i*).

2. *c* = *j* | *ç* = *ch* | *ş* = *sh*.

3. *ğ* = *y* (with front vowels) or a very weakly pronounced guttural (with back vowels).

## ERRATA

- P. 133, line 7: Ibn-i Murfarrigh *must be* Ibn-i Mufarrigh  
P. 133, line 32: OF MIDDLE AND PERSIAN VERSE *must be* OF MIDDLE AND NEW PERSIAN VERSE  
P. 259, line 11: *Tārīkh-i* *must be* *Ta'rikh-i*  
P. 274, note 6: Ivanow *must be* Ivanov  
P. 306, line 15: *BAZ-GĀSHT* *must be* *BĀZ-GASHT*  
P. 307, line 32: *baz-gāsht* *must be* *bāz-gasht*  
P. 558, line 35: Abdurauf *must be* Abdurrauf  
P. 658, line 17: *mathnavī* *must be* *Mathnavī*  
P. 722, line 4: *mathnavi* *must be* *Mathnavī*  
P. 733, note 2: Abdulvahab *must be* Abdul Wahab  
P. 739, line 13: Ibn Abu'l-Khayr *must be* Ibn Abi'l-Khayr  
P. 740, note 1, line 3: *read* 'Qissai Yusuf u Zulaykha'

## I. BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ECONOMICO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRAN AFTER 1896

### A. STRUGGLE FOR A CONSTITUTION AND FALL OF THE QAJARS IN THE PERIOD 1896-1921

It has already been explained in the preceding sections how the policies of the second Qajar, Fath-‘Alī-Shāh, which totally lacked the broader conceptions of statesmanship and clung to the empty show of oriental pomp, opened the door to European capital and also to a change in the feudal economy such as it had so far existed. The rivalry of British and Russian imperialism throughout the 19th century accelerated this process, during which the first signs of a modernisation of Iranian life made their appearance, notably a few of the technical advantages of European civilisation, and an occasional waft of western thought. Later Nāširu’d-dīn supported the trend by introducing various reforms and European novelties – such as official newspapers, high-school education of a polytechnic character with European teachers, travel grants for studies in Europe, and so on – but he could no longer set limits to the trends he himself had helped to initiate. Dāru’l-funūn, the centre of modern education (see p. 322), brought up a new intelligentsia, acquainted with modern science, with European economic and political systems, and thus equipped with the premises for a critical view of the situation of its own country and people. Echoes of European revolutions and the consciousness of social changes which followed in their wake, joined with the lessons learned from the patriotic struggles of their more advanced Islamic neighbours (the success of the reformist movement in Turkey with the proclamation of a Constitution in 1876; the revolution of ‘Arābī Pāshā in Egypt in 1881-2), inspired far-reaching analogies. Terms hitherto more of a religious or narrowly local character (*vaṭan*, *millat*) acquired a new political content and a more universal connotation: native country, nation, freedom.<sup>1</sup> Basic changes of view are apparent also in the new evaluation of supposedly immutable truths; now it is realised that the will of the

nation and its true interests are not always identical with the will and interests of the ruler and that the nation has the right to make its will felt with more effective means than the fireworks of Sa'di's invective against the tyrants.

"The powerful stream of regeneration is rolling towards the East, despotic rule is nearing its fall. Summon all your forces and destroy the foundations of this despotism." This challenge – and certainly not the only one – of the famous reformer and feared revolutionary Sayyid Jamālu'd-dīn Asadābādī Afghānī<sup>2</sup>, characterises the situation and points to its solution.

And at the instigation of Sayyid Jamālu'd-dīn, the first blow was delivered at Qajar despotism: one of his pupils shot Nāṣiru'd-dīn Shāh on May Day 1896 (18 Dhi'l-qa'da 1313), at the time of the preparations for the festive celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of his accession.

With the advent of Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Shāh, who succeeded his assassinated father, the Persian throne was still occupied by the Qajar dynasty – but from then on the Court was no longer the only, or even the decisive force controlling the course of events. The Shāh's policy, leading to a growing dependence of Iran on the financial assistance of Russia and Great Britain, only helped to speed the designs of the Persian patriots and hasten the more precise formulation of their demands. Every error of judgement, every move of the Shāh or his court, dictated by selfish interests and the consciousness of absolute power – the long-term concessions by which the country's wealth was sold out to foreigners, costly journeys to Europe, the calling in of foreign experts into the internal administration of the empire, and so on – were analysed and criticised in the patriotic press, in pamphlets, in satirical verses and songs, and all this literature found its way, in word and song, among the broad masses of the people (p. 363, n. 5). This work soon bore fruit. Now in this part, now in another part of the country, disorders and revolts broke out which then merged into a spontaneous movement of resistance.<sup>3</sup> In this situation the final impetus was provided by the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the Persian patriots came out openly with their demands for the promulgation of a Constitution and the setting up of a Parliament. A valuable contribution to the successful realisation of these demands was made by the higher ranks of the priesthood; the top representatives of the spiritual power supported the demand for a Constitution with all the weight of their authority, and by an effective use of religious orders and prohibitions enabled the patriotic intelligentsia to bring home to the nation the errors of court policy (for instance, when the Shāh was negotiating the matter of tobacco trade concessions, they published a religious prohibition of smoking on a nation-wide scale which, along with the removal of the smallest speck of tobacco, undoubtedly caused the Shāh and his court considerable chagrin). And again, in the decisive moments of the final stages of the talks between the patriots and the Shāh, the high religious dignitaries, by a demonstrative departure from the capital (which meant for the believers of Islam the practically complete paralysis of normal life) induced the Shāh to hasten his decision in favour of national

demands.<sup>4</sup> The Constitution was proclaimed and on August 19th, 1906 (28 Jumādā II 1324) the Shāh opened the inaugural session of Parliament (*majlis*).

The struggles of the Persian patriots were not, however, thereby at an end. The Shāh died the following year and his successor, Muḥammad 'Alī, showed himself from the first to be a sworn enemy of the Constitution, the enactments of which he tried to limit in every possible way.<sup>5</sup> And so a stubborn struggle was waged between the ruler and Parliament or, in other words, between the Qajar court and the nation, the first phase of which ended with a victory for reaction – the *coup d'état* of the 23rd June, 1908, and the prorogation of Parliament. The patriots, however, were far from giving up the fight. Despite all the means of terror at the disposal of the Shāh, despite his artillery divisions and Cossack cavalry, the nationalists finally won the victory with the entry of the patriotic divisions into the capital on July 16th, 1909, (known as the *Fath-i millī*).<sup>6</sup>

The Shāh, who had sought asylum at the Russian Legation, abdicated; he was succeeded by his scarcely twelve-year-old son, Aḥmad, and a regent was appointed in the person of the senior member of the Qajar House, 'Aḍudu'l-mulk. The Constitution was again proclaimed and a new Parliament (the *Second majlis*)<sup>7</sup> opened on the 15th November, 1909.

The liberally orientated government appointed by the Revolutionary National Council occupied a difficult position. Various groups with widely differing radical trends held up the consolidation of the country, which provided Great Britain and Russia with a welcome pretext for intervention.<sup>8</sup> Both powers made use of every possible means to further their imperialistic interest and, after the accession of a new reactionary regent – the ex-Shāh is said to have had a finger in it –, succeeded in bringing about the dissolution of the *Second majlis* in December 1911. Russian aggression followed in December and in January of the next year<sup>9</sup>; thereupon, in March, both powers forced the Persian government to make the official declaration that it would conduct its home and foreign policy in conformity with their interests, on the basis of the agreement of August 1907.<sup>10</sup>

The *Third majlis* was opened on the 14th December, 1914, really only in order to declare Iran's neutrality in the First World War. The democratic parliamentary majority, which made no secret of its dislike of Iran's official allies, Great Britain and Russia, hastened rather than delayed its re-dismissal.<sup>11</sup> Soon the country, important for its allies both strategically and for its mineral wealth, was occupied by their forces. The behaviour of the occupying forces made still worse an already miserable situation; national pride cultivated in the patriotic struggles led to ever new revolts against the occupying forces, and the former antipathy to the two imperialist powers changed into open hatred which in some patriots led to a convinced Germanophilism (cf. Adīb Pīshāvarī, Vaḥīd Dastgirdī) or Turcophilism (cf. 'Arif Qazvīnī).

The First World War ran its course in a context of sharply antagonistic views and inner and outer unrest. The October Revolution, which preceded its conclusion, was

enthusiastically welcomed by many Persian patriots, nor were there lacking poetical appeals to follow its example (see pp. 376, 387). When the victory of the Allied Powers was proclaimed and Great Britain hastened to strengthen its economic position in Iran by means of a new treaty, the patriots condemned it all the more resolutely, having before their eyes the completely contrary attitude of the young Soviet-Union, which on its own initiative annulled the imperialistically tendentious treaty concluded between Iran and tsarist Russia.<sup>12</sup>

## B. THE RISE OF RIḌĀ KHĀN AND HIS PATH TO POWER

The struggles in the country, already in their second decade and waged with words and arms, broke out anew with even greater intensity. This time, unlike the first phase of the patriotic struggle when the nation stood united behind the demand for a Constitution, various political groups contested the field, whereby the programme of the journalist, poet and politician, Sayyid Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn finally won supremacy. In the name of this programme, the old government was overthrown on the night of February 21st, 1921 (3 Isfand 1299); the uprising was planned and carried out by young officers, supporters of Sayyid Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn, under the command of Colonel Riḏā Khān, who came with his Cossacks from Qazvīn and occupied the government building.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of the people accepted the resolute action of Riḏā Khān with enthusiasm, and politicians of various tinges placed their hopes in his rise to power: the Liberals hoped that he would curtail the power of the ruling dynasty and not countenance too great deviations to the left; the Democrats expected him to proclaim a Republic; the Left wing supported him in the conviction that, not belonging to the governing caste, he would be in favour of social reforms; the Nationalists believed that he would build a strong state, independent of foreign powers. And the whole nation was sure that he would consolidate conditions in the country and at last create order. In the given situation, however, this was no simple matter. The nomad tribes began to revolt, being opposed in their conservatism to any more radical political changes, especially when news began to come through of Riḏā's intention to transform the monarchy into a republic, after the example of the neighbouring Turkey. The younger generation of politicians and intelligentsia, on the contrary, brought up in European ways of thought, were keen advocates of this form of government and, in the spring of 1924, stormy pro-Republican demonstrations took place in Tehran.

Through continual changes of ministries Riḏā Khān remained Minister of War, from the autumn of 1923 also Prime Minister, and his power in the State continued to grow. The Qajar Shāh remained in Europe through this time of unrest and did not

return even at repeated requests from the governments; so, on October 31st, 1925 the Shāh was deposed and the Qajar dynasty came to an end by decree of Parliament, which at the same time entrusted Riḍā with the interim government of the country. Proof of the political aplomb of the new Regent was the expedition with which a law was passed relating to new parliamentary elections – the old Parliament had a decidedly Republican orientation – and the promptness with which these were carried out, so that the opening session of Parliament took place already on the 6th December, the first task Riḍā set it being to resolve on the new form of State administration. Surprisingly, the little short of twenty years of struggle on the part of Persian patriots for the democratisation of the country ended in the election of a Parliament which made Riḍā Khān the first member of a new hereditary imperial dynasty, the Pahlavi, on December 13th, 1925.<sup>14</sup>

The severe régime of military dictatorship, which Riḍā Shāh tightened up from year to year, was characterised above all by a strong admiration for European civilisation, in the name of which a feverish reconstruction of the whole country was entered upon; transport and industry were developed, European architecture made rapid headway and changed the physical character of the capital, European novelties in dress and manners were prescribed, and many traditional customs connected with the Islamic faith were done away with.<sup>15</sup> In foreign policy, which in the first years showed a striking turning away from Great Britain and a growing friendliness with the Soviet-Union, there set in from the 'thirties ever closer political and economic ties with Nazi Germany, with which country almost half of Persia's foreign trade was carried on.

### C. CHANGES IN HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1941

This circumstance was one of the main reasons why in the middle of the Second World War, on October 16th, 1941, Riḍā Shāh was forced to abdicate and leave Iran. His son, Muḥammad Riḍā, ascended the throne and the Allies again occupied the country with British and Soviet forces. This time the occupation was not the occupation of a semi-colonial country, as in the First World War (which fact, with all due reserve, must be placed to the credit of Riḍā Shāh and his policy), so that the departure of the dictator was immediately observable in both political and cultural life. We see a renewal of democratic orientation: numerous political parties spring up with a wide variety of programmes, from radical right-wingers to those of the extreme left, each of them contributing assiduously to the enlivenment of political journalism. In the economic field efforts are made to abolish survivals of semi-colonial dependence – as in the liquidation of the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company – and similarly in the

wide domain of culture there is evidence of endeavours to create a modern national individuality. This widespread effort to set up new forms of national life often runs its course against a background of sharp ideological conflicts of which we are eye-witnesses and which are as yet far from being fought to a finish.<sup>16</sup>

As will be clear even from this brief survey, Iranian events of the 20th century fall into three periods, each of which has so specific a character that it stamps to a considerable extent the literary production of the years that compose it. These three epochs therefore form the basis for our division of the Iranian literary output of the 20th century into three chapters, always with the reservation that no periodisation is more than a methodological aid, making no claim to confine strictly within its dividing lines the living organism that is creative art. As the whole period under review covers little more than half a century, it is to be expected that many a literary personality will produce work in all three periods. The question then arises as to what criteria should be applied when placing an author in this or that period, or when deciding whether his work should be treated in all three. After excluding the latter system, which would lead to undesirable repetition, and other more or less mechanical points of view, we have chosen as our guiding line the endeavour to deal with the poet in that period during which he most fully stood for the ideas and forms of a progressive and revolutionary character. With this explanation, we subjoin the periodisation which will be observed in our article:

(1) the struggle for a Constitution, from the period of preparation following the assassination of Nāṣiru'd-dīn in 1896 to the Riḍā Shāh Rising of 1921; here the poets are at once the leaders of a national awakening, the propagators of new ideas, the teachers of the nation; journalism is an important domain of literary activity, of topical patriotic and nationalist poetry and of political pamphlets in verse and prose; the rise of the first historical novels;

(2) the *coup d'état* and the path to Riḍā's founding of a new dynasty and military dictatorship up to his abdication (1921-41); the new conditions lead to a turning away from topical events in poetry, and attention is directed to the solving of problems related to the formal character of the new poetry and the new style; the significance of literary prose is recognised and critically evaluated; the subject-matter includes new social themes coloured with romantic sentimentality;

(3) endeavours at democratisation after Riḍā Shāh's abdication in 1941, struggle for a modern style of life; a world orientation in literature, an increase in the number of periodicals with a cultural mission, the first attempts at the documentation of all native literary output; a perceptible 'new wave' in poetry, a promising upward trend in literary prose, especially the shorter forms of the short story and the long short story or *novella*.



NOTES

1. On conditions in the Near East at this time cf. E. Kedourie, *Afghani and Abduh* (London 1966) and N. R. Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran* (London 1966).
2. Jamālu'd-dīn's national awakening work as a journalist and a public speaker was of great importance too in defining the content of modern political terms, which he was able to do from a philosophical point of view, close to Islamic thought, cf. Jamāl-al-dīn al-Afghānī, *Orient*, 6 (1958), 123 *et seq.*; A. M. Goichon, *Réfutation des matérialistes* (translations of important speeches by Jamālu'd-dīn from the Arabic); *Maqālāt-i Jamāliyya*, collection of his less-known Persian speeches.
3. Cf. Ivanov, *Iranskaya revoliutsiya*, 8–66, to which a bibliography has been added.
4. Cf. Browne, *Persian Revolution*, 121 *et seq.*; on the basis of new documents Bihzād, *Inqilāb-i mashrūṭiyya-i Irān*, 201 *et seq.*
5. Shafaq, *MEJ*, 6 (1952), 421, believes that it was the aggressive conduct of several of the patriots that provoked the Shāh to attacks on the Majlis.
6. The important role of the Bakhtiars in connexion with the Fath-i milli is dealt with by N. Dānish-var (see *Bibl.*).
7. The chronology of the Second Constitution is given by Browne in *Press and Poetry*, 318–36.
8. Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 409 *et seq.*, 414 *et seq.*
9. Shuster, *Strangling of Persia*, 199 *et seq.*; Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 501.
10. On this see Browne, *Persian Revolution*, 127; Kasravī, *Inqilāb-i mashrūṭiyya*, 460 *et seq.*; Litten, *Persien*, 14 *et seq.*
11. Musil, *Země Arijcū* [*The Land of the Aryans*], 126.
12. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy...*, 90 *et seq.*; Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran 1918–1948*; Kuznetsov, *SV*, 1957, 5, 100 *et seq.*
13. A chronicle of events is given in *Oriente Moderno*, from 1921 onwards.
14. Cf. (C), especially Aubin, Artzt, Hesse, Tahmasp.
15. Cf. (C), Armayānī, Doroshenko.
16. On this see (C), especially H. C. Atyeo, A. B. Bashkistrov, Elwell-Sutton, Ch. Farmanfarmanian, N. S. Fatemi, 'A. A. Hikmat, F. Laurent, A. K. Lavrentiyev, L. Massignon, A. Michaelis, G. M. Petrov, *Sovremenniy Iran*; for chronicle of events from 1954, see *MEJ* and *MEA*.

## II. CHARACTER OF THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE

Economic and cultural contact with the occident, which since the middle of the 19th century has increased in width and intensity, was one of the main factors in initiating the transformation of many countries of the orient, among them Iran, from the traditional to the modern way of life. Literature was also affected by this trend. The knowledge of European languages and literatures, western education, with its opening up of new possibilities in technology, natural science, and the social sciences, and the reflection of all this in everyday life, is for Iranian literature a discovery in the light of which truths accepted as immutable for thousands of years collapse and the existing social order appears as what it is – a mediaeval survival. The critical attitude towards national reality, once awakened, is further cultivated and reveals inadequacies of a fundamental character, investigates their causes and thinks out ways of removing them. This forms the main stream of the literature of this period – a literature that is tendentious and militant, addressed to the broad masses of the nation, with the aim of educating, instructing and awakening them from their backwardness and passivity. The best poets of the country, where from time immemorial the masters of the word had composed *qasīdas* in praise of the ruling dynasty and court and sent them with enthusiastic dedications to their monarchs, now placed all their art in the service of the struggle to limit and finally overthrow the monarchal power, and of the enlightenment and liberation of their fellow-citizens. This is the first *novum* forming the dividing-line between modern and traditional literature, and pointing to the new trend in which the poet no longer aims to create for a small aristocratic circle, but for the broad masses of the nation.

The greater part of the literary production of this period tends to be associated in its content with political events; care for the formal aspects of the art is at first only superficial and consists mainly in the negation of the often almost unintelligible literary language of the previous centuries, and in the jettisoning of the most blatant examples of clichés and empty rhetorical embellishments. Classical poetry is sub-

mitted to strict revision: the patriots declare the only truly noble art to be the heroic epic of Firdausī, where they find the perfect expression of national pride, an important component of modern patriotism. There is a turning away from Šūfī mysticism, and lyrical panegyrics are rare. The Qajar court still has its court poets, but none of them surpass the average of professional versifiers, as the outstanding ones among them, such as Īraj and Bahār, voluntarily gave up the honours formerly so coveted by poets. In his sharp condemnation of the poetical eulogies of the past, the poet and publicist Mīrzā Āqā-Khān Kirmānī (see p. 365) most aptly expresses the attitude of the time when he says: "The result of the praises and flatteries of those poets was that the monarchs and their ministers were stimulated to carry out the most impossibly crazy and eccentric actions ... etc."<sup>1</sup>

Satire occupies the foreground; formerly narrowly personal in content (see *Prolegomena*, p. 333), it now becomes a topical political poem in the broadest sense of the term<sup>2</sup>, as is at once evident from a reading of the texts gathered in Browne's monograph. This modern satire documents best certain important changes in poetic diction: expressions and turns of speech taken from the colloquial language, various onomatopoeic plays on words proper to folk-poetry, dialect words and slang.<sup>3</sup> Metric principles are less strictly observed and, together with *mathnavī*, *qaṣīda* and *ghazal*, strophic song forms are popular.<sup>4</sup>

The literary output of the period of the Constitution, for the main part still poetry, is thus of a didactic and political character and serves its time and its topical problems, while the so-called 'eternal problems' of classical poetry no longer occupy the foreground of interest. If such poetry is to have the intended effect, if it is to fulfil the didactic mission with which the poet and the time have endowed it, it must impress the reader at once. And so the poets reach out for the medium which modern technology places at their disposal, namely the daily press, journalism, which thus becomes the first arena of the literary activities of the time. The best poets are at the same time journalists, editors and newspaper publishers; the papers thereby reach an excellent level and achieve wide popularity.

This popularity is an interesting factor in a country with such a large percentage of illiterates. Musil<sup>5</sup> explains it as being due to the fact that in a time of such general interest in political events, people, not only in the towns but also in the country districts, gathered round anyone who could read, listened to the newspapers being read aloud and then started lively discussions on topical problems. After the dissolution of the 'Third majlis' and the occupation of the country (p. 357), many of the foremost poets were obliged to emigrate and a strict censorship was exercised over the daily press, with the result that its quality deteriorated and interest on the part of the readers and literati decreased. At that time and also later in the more recent history of Iran, whenever a similar political situation recurred, the active participation in politics of creative workers declined and they turned their attention to formal problems connected with their art.

A new phenomenon in the literary art of the first two decades of our century is the development of belletristic prose in the European sense of the term. Traditional Persian prose had always endeavoured to come as close as possible to real art, namely, poetry; from poetry it took over rhyme and rhythm (often even in scientific treatises, see *Prolegomena*, p. 341) and was frequently only an accompaniment to verse, as in the classic, *Gulistān*. Such prose, together with various more popular forms were the legacy of historical prose forms, so that here the creators of new prose had practically no domestic models. The first modern prose, like the first modern poetry, had a predominantly topical political content and its best examples were newspaper articles, the authors of which were Malkum Khān, Ṭālibūf, Dihkhudā.<sup>6</sup> The school in which these first prose writers learnt their craft were European belles-lettres – mostly French – which reached Iran and were translated into Persian.<sup>7</sup> They included Morier's *Haji Baba*, the prose of Cervantes, Molière, Jules Verne, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, and a number of novels by Dumas Père.<sup>8</sup> In this more or less haphazard selection, the literati chose as patterns above all what was nearest to their aesthetic sensibility: undaunted heroes, heedful of honour and glory, intricate plots, in which the ruling dynasty or nobility played a part and which contained a grain of historical truth, high standards of chivalry and plenty of adventure – in short, the atmosphere and trappings of the heroic epic, the beloved *Shāh-nāma*. All this the Persian reader found in modern prose form in the adventure novels of Dumas Père. These were the main source on which the Persian novelist drew, a source which gave the first Persian novels their strongly marked, if not always the most desirable, traits.

Similarly, the work of translation was itself to a certain extent a school for the Persian literati; for if they were to express the relatively simple style of European prose, they had to create a new literary Persian as its medium. The literary language as it then existed, bound for centuries by a system of rhetorical rules, cluttered up with phrases which no longer had any real meaning, had so estranged itself from the spoken language that it was no longer suited to the translation of a western novel and still less a stage play. Thus here translation was, in the true sense of the term, creative work, an important factor in the forming of a modern literary expressive medium; sometimes the translation was so successful that it became an integral part of the native literature, as in the case of *Haji Baba* or the comedies of Ākhund-zāda.

The endeavour to create a new literary Persian – one of the many endeavours characterising this period of a universal search after a modern way of life in Iran – was at the same time the first step towards the rise of a modern literary language. In this field, there came to the assistance of the national awakeners certain sociological realities, such as the growth of a compact administrative class in the capital and in the larger provincial centres, together with modern communication media – railways, telephone and telegraph, and especially the press and journalism.

## A. THE PRESS AND ITS ROLE IN THE LITERATURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

During the time of the constitutional struggles Persian literature – in the main political and openly tendentious – was presented to the reader not in books or *divāns*, but in newspapers and magazines. For this reason journalism is still the best literary mirror of that time.

Some ninety different periodicals, mostly of a high literary standard, flooded the country – a truly remarkable number, particularly when we remember that the press only arrived in Iran during the first half of the 19th century and that the first official journals quietly vegetated at a level which could offer no inspiration for future development (pp. 322, 337–9). It was not these, however, but several unofficial, semi-illegal pamphlets of a revolutionary and critical nature which appeared here and there in the country long before the revolution, that were the real precursors of constitutional journalism.

The first centre of this national awakening was Tabriz, whose writers had direct connections with the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia.<sup>9</sup> Nāṣiru'd-dīn was still on the throne when a paper appeared in Tabriz, called *Talqīn-nāma-i Irān*, 'Instruction Sheet for Iran', a necrology of Iran in pamphlet form, and also the illustrated satirical newspaper *Shab-nāma*, 'Night-Paper'.<sup>10</sup> Later a circle of revolutionary writers and journalists was formed also in Tehran; it produced similar publications and even set about organising their distribution. These included, among others, *Ghayrat*, 'Zeal', and *Lisānu'l-ghayb*, 'Tongue of the Unseen'.

This work at home was supported by Persian poets and journalists of repute abroad. They attempted, in a good literary style, to draw the attention of their contemporaries to the unhappy situation of their country. Thus in Istanbul a circle of outstanding poets and journalists worked on the newspaper *Akhtar*, 'Star', which was founded in 1292/1875. The two chief editors, the poet Mīrzā Āqā-Khān Kirmānī and Shaykh Aḥmad-i Rūhī, were executed in Tabriz after the murder of Nāṣiru'd-dīn (p. 363). Witty, ironic criticisms of conditions in Persia, published in the form of popular pamphlets called *Shāh-seven* after a semi-nomadic Turkish tribe, were also the work of these writers.

In Cairo the work was centred around the paper *Thurayyā*, 'The Pleiades', founded in 1316/1898 by Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad-Khān Kāshānī. The Calcutta paper *Ḥablu'l-matīn*, 'The Firm Cord', which first appeared in 1311/1893, maintained a very high standard; during the constitutional period Ḥasan-Khān Kāshānī, brother of the Calcutta publisher, founded a paper of the same name in Tehran, and this became one of the best periodicals of the time.

Undoubtedly the best and most influential of all the pre-revolutionary papers was the London *Qānūn*, 'The Law', founded in 1890, which Browne holds to be one of the

main stimuli of the political and literary renaissance, of the revolutionary revival of Persia.<sup>11</sup> Its founder and publisher, Mīrzā Malkum-Khān Nāzimu'd-daula, former Persian ambassador in London (recalled for his revolutionary views), an educated man and ardent patriot, regarded contemporary reality from the point of view of the future. This enabled him to create a paper which for fifteen years was a model for the journalists of the Constitution. A lucid modern style, enriched with felicitous new formations, is combined in Malkum-Khān's articles with a thorough knowledge of the problems of which they treat and with a revolutionary spirit which occasional collaboration with Jamālu'd-dīn Afghānī (p. 356) in the pages of *Qānūn* happily reinforced.<sup>12</sup>

The patriotic literary work of Malkum-Khān was not confined to journalism. Linked with the awakening of Iran was, in his view, the reformation of Arabic script, which he simplified on the basis of Latin script. He himself published several books (e.g. Sa'dī's *Gulistān*), in order to demonstrate to the public the advantages of the reform.<sup>13</sup> Here, however, his endeavours suffered defeat. Of great importance in the forming of a new prose style were his political pamphlets which, although originally intended only for the educated reader, were soon secretly circulated throughout the country, because they expressed in a comprehensible way all that the nation lived and hoped for. Finally, Persian drama, too, found an innovator in the versatile personality of Prince Malkum: he was the author of satirical comedies with themes treated from the angle of social criticism.<sup>14</sup>

We then see how, not only in the capital but also in the larger provincial towns, a great number of periodicals shoots up after the declaration of the Constitution and the introduction of a free press, and how the circulation of those that had already been in existence increased, sometimes even tenfold.

During the period of revolutionary enthusiasm, the papers did not represent any particular party. They fought, united, for the Constitution. At this time almost every poet of any importance published his own periodical, and this explains the high standard of newspapers, in both their literary and informative aspects, since the spontaneous joy with which poets and writers offered their services to the nation was evident in every article.

'Alī Nau-rūz, H. L. Rabino, Muḥ. 'Alī-Khān (in Browne's *Press and Poetry*) and S. Hāshimī, amongst others, compiled a bibliography of the revolutionary press (see Bibliography, VII, for further information). Here we can only mention those papers that were important in the development of literature, either because of their subject-matter or because they enjoyed the cooperation of some noteworthy contemporary poets.

Among the daily newspapers, the consistently liberal-democratic *Irān-i nau*, 'New Iran', enjoyed the greatest popularity. This paper is of interest from a literary point of view in that it published the first poems of the poets Maliku'sh-shu'arā Bahār (pp. 373-4) and Lāhūtī Kirmānshāhī (p. 376). It also published translations of

Krīlov's Fables, especially those embodying allegories that reminded the reader of the blunders of the contemporary government or of the administration.

Otherwise the majority of the daily papers were only of secondary literary importance, as articles of an artistic nature were more frequently to be found in weekly papers and in various magazines. The leading weekly was *Sūr-i Isrāfīl*, 'The Trumpet of Israfil', founded in Tehran in 1325/1907. Ideologically it was known for the polemics by which it sought to prove the responsibility of the Islamic priesthood for the decline of Islamic nations. The satirical column of the paper, designated 'Charand-Parand', was particularly popular. In it the poet Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar-Khān Dihkhudā, one of the most important personalities of the time, created a new and in Persia previously unknown type of literary satire. In the measure that it was popular with its readers, it was hated by the opponents of the Constitution. Its publisher, Mīrzā Jahāngīr-Khān Shīrāzī was executed after the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī (p. 357)<sup>15</sup>, and Dihkhudā had to take refuge abroad, whence he continued his literary activities.

As regards the standard and number of good and interesting articles – and particularly poems – the paper *Nasīm-i shimāl*, 'The Breeze of the North', founded in 1325/1907, in Rasht, was of the same quality as the Tehran *Sūr-i Isrāfīl*. It appeared somewhat irregularly until 1911. Its editor and publisher, Sayyid Ashraf Gīlānī, was a capable poet and a brave fighter for a better future for his country. The journalists' magazine in Rasht, *Khayru'l-kalām*, 'The Best of Discourses', which from its first appearance in 1325/1907 was directed by its editor Afṣaḥu'l-mutakallimīn, was conspicuous for its effective and sharply pointed satire.

Tabriz also remained true to its pre-revolutionary tradition during the period of struggle for the Constitution, particularly as regards good humorous periodicals<sup>16</sup>, for example *Ḥasharātu'l-arḍ*, 'The Reptiles of the Earth', that was founded in 1326/1908 by Ḥājji Mīrzā Āqā Billūrī and contained witty articles and colourful caricatures. *Šuḥbat*, 'Conversation', was lithographed first in 1327/1909 in Azerbayjāni Turkish and was attacked, mainly by the Islamic theologians, on account of its articles against the veiling of women and on the question of emancipation. *Ādharbayjān*, published since 1325/1907 in Persian and Azerbayjāni Turkish and edited by the well-known 'Alī Qulī-Khān Safarof, was also famous for its caricatures.<sup>17</sup>

The poet Mīrzā Šādiq-Khān Adību'l-mamālik (pp. 375–6), a descendant of the famous Qā'im-maqām, was also the publisher and editor of a good periodical, *Adab*, 'Culture', which started to appear before the Revolution. In addition to poems by the editor, the paper published serious items of a popular nature on science by the physician Mīrzā Najaf-Qulī-Khān Qā'im-maqāmī, and sometimes translations, mainly from the French. These items gave information on world literature and science, and were accompanied by portraits of world-famous writers and scientists. The liberal-democratic intelligentsia of Tabriz centred around the magazine *Āzād*, 'Free', published by the bookseller Tarbiyat.

Among the papers published in Mashhad the best known was the consistently democratic *Nau-Bahār*, 'New Spring', founded in 1328/1910 under the leadership of the poet Bahār. The Russian Legation in Tehran protested against the paper's attacks on the aggressive policy of Russia and its publication was suspended. It appeared again under the name *Tāza-Bahār* 'Fresh Spring', without, however, changing its policy to any great extent.

At this time Sayyid Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Ṭabāṭabā'i attained great popularity on account of the revolutionary ideas he proclaimed in his paper *Sharq*, 'The East', (founded in 1327/1909). Later, after repeated suspension, its name was changed to *Barq*, 'Lightning'. For this same reason he fell into disfavour with government circles. His *Sharq* included a column entitled, 'Adabiyyāt – Literature', in which, in particular, the poems of Lāhūtī Kirmānshāhī appeared.

Amongst the various ideological problems discussed, that of the status of women, which has already been mentioned, soon came to the fore. Contemporary poetry often included in its themes the need of education for women on an equal basis with men, and the necessity for the emancipation of women from their unsatisfactory social position.<sup>18</sup> Under the influence of this school of thought there appeared magazines for women, even edited by women. The first of these, *Dānish*, 'Knowledge', was founded in 1328/1910 in Tehran. It is interesting to note, however, that basic problems which were often raised in other papers were never discussed in its pages. It was only after the First World War that women's magazines representing more progressive trends began to appear.

After the dissolution of the 'Second majlis' (December 1910) literary life gradually died out. Many poets and revolutionaries were executed, others lived in exile.<sup>19</sup> The papers which continued to appear preferred to follow official policy. Their style is consequently arid and their literary value negligible.<sup>20</sup>

When therefore the 'Third majlis' met under these unfavorable circumstances and voted in favour of Iran's neutrality, the democrats and nationalists withdrew. Shortly afterwards the *majlis* was dissolved and England and Russia occupied the country. This intervention strengthened the pro-German movement among Persian patriots, which soon acquired a skilful advocate in the paper *Kāva*, under its editor Ḥasan Taqī-zāda. *Kāva* was established in Berlin in 1335/1916. At first it was a purely political paper, but from January 1920 onwards (the so-called *Daura-i jadīd*) *Kāva* turned its attention to literature, to which subject and to science it finally devoted itself entirely. It published noteworthy essays on the history of Iranian literature, to which young research scholars, among others M. 'A. Jamāl-zāda, applied European scientific methods. *Kāva* also founded its own publishing house (Kaviani-Press) and upheld Persian culture outside the borders of the country, so that it became at this time one of the important focal points of the Persian literary renaissance.



## B. THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN PROSE

Even were there no other argument against the claim of some Persian patriots that *Haji Baba* was the work of a Persian author, a critical survey of the then prevailing situation in Persian belles-lettres would be sufficient to prove this to be wrong. Even today there are but few novels possessing a similar degree of artistic homogeneity in style and composition which, while being in full accord with the spirit of the times, still has an important message for later generations. It seems therefore all the more impossible to aver that such a novel could have been written at a time when modern Persian prose was still in its infancy.

One thing however can rightly be maintained, namely that the first Persian novel may have been inspired by the work of Morier, among other sources<sup>21</sup>, both as regards its form – that of an itinerary – and its satirical conception.

This first novel was the *Siyāhat-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Beg*, 'Travels of Ibrahim Beg', by Ḥājji Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn from Marāgha. The author had a keen eye and his criticisms were pertinent and comprehensible, as was proved by the popularity which the work attained. Composed about 1880, the work first appeared in 1888 in Istanbul; the second edition was printed in Calcutta in 1890, others in 1905–6 in Bombay and in 1910 again in Calcutta.<sup>22</sup> In 1903 the work was translated into German, and in 1963 into Russian.

The book contains a great deal of autobiographical detail. We meet the hero, a young Persian brought up in Egypt, who returns to his native country to study the social and political life there. The conditions with which he is confronted correspond to those in Persia at the end of the 19th century, thus providing the author with an opportunity for bitter satire on the backward state of his country. That is the first part of the novel. In the second part the plot develops with the somewhat sentimental love story of the hero and ends with his death, caused by a pining for his country and grief over its pitiable condition. The third part is a kind of Persian *Divina Commedia*: the hero's teacher, Ibrāhīm Yūsuf 'Amū, has a dream about the Persian Inferno and the Persian Paradise, again with numerous allusions to contemporary events.

Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn not only influenced later generations of prose writers, he also deserves credit for having invariably encouraged criticism of the unsatisfactory conditions in Iran.

Through his life and his work, the author was among the first active workers of the revolutionary generation. He was born into the family of a well-to-do merchant, but when still young broke with his family whose mode of living he found insupportable. He fled from the country and lived in Yalta in the Crimea, where he earned a good living and even acquired the rights of citizenship. He gave all this up, however, and in order to work for a better national future emigrated to Istanbul where

he collaborated with Persian democrats on the paper *Akhtar*, 'Star' (p. 365). He died in 1910.

If we examine any given branch of Persian literature during the period of the Constitution, we can see how closely this literature is bound up with the contemporary life of the nation and its burning problems (frequently this tendency pushes artistic questions into the background). So it was with the novel: the patriotic duty of presenting their splendid history to the people leads novelists to work up themes from Iran's distant past. Such a subject is chosen by the most prolific Persian novelist, Šan'atī-zāda Kirmānī, for his first novel, which is thus the first work in Persian belles-lettres to treat of a historical theme.

The plot takes the reader to the court of the last Sasanian, Yazdgird III (632–51), and the novel bears the title: *Dām-gustarān yā intiqām-khvāhān-i Mazdak*, 'The Plotters or the Avengers of Mazdak'. The Sasanian ruler is shown surrounded by traitorous Zoroastrian priests, and threatened on the one hand by the supporters of the revolutionary, Mazdak (pp. 59, 127), on the other by the danger of an Arab invasion. Under the pressure of these two forces the kingdom collapses. The novel ends with the assassination of the fleeing Yazdgird by a supporter of Mazdak, and with the murder of the Caliph 'Umar, whereby Yazdgird's son Hurmuzān avenges the fall of his father's kingdom.

The author used historical events in a somewhat arbitrary manner. There are many anachronisms and the intricate plots of adventure remind one of Dumas. Not even in his characterisation does the author observe historical veracity. As in the naïve world of fairy-tales, the heroes are of unblemished virtue while the villains are painted completely black; the setting is reduced to sketchy backdrops – in short, the novel shows all the signs of a literature in a new, not yet fully explored world. As with all the other works of the period, Kirmānī's novel pursues didactic aims: to show the causes of Iran's loss of independence in such a light as would serve as a warning. From this point of view, the work has undoubted value. It was written about 1900, but was first published 20 years later in Bombay and five years after that in Tehran.<sup>23</sup>

Šan'atī-zāda kept to the same trend in his later novels. He did not engage in historical studies; nor does he show any intensive development on the artistic side. *Dāstān-i Mānī-i naqqāsh*, 'The Story of the Painter Mānī', is the romantic story of Mānī's life and love and takes place in the 3rd century, at the time of Shāpūr's battles against the Roman emperor Valerian. It was published in 1346/1927 in Tehran. *Silāh-shūr*, 'The Knight', which appeared in 1934 in Tehran, draws for its subject-matter on the time of the first Sasanians; *Siyāh-pūshān*, 'Men in Black Armour', describes the fight of the Persian element, personified by Abū-Muslim, against the Arab; another of his novels has its setting in the time of the Safavids.

Šan'atī-zāda, who in addition to his literary work ran a successful commission agency in Tehran, did not confine himself exclusively to historical material. Persian prose is indebted to him for the first Utopian novel, *Majma'-i divānagān*, 'Assembly

of Fools', which took its motto from Sa'dī: "All men are fools and the fool is the only normal (rational) person." The novel is a framework composition. A group of people fall into a hypnotic sleep during which they are transported 2000 years into the future, into an epoch called the 'Age of Reason'. Here, because of their previous life, the group experiences strange and surprising adventures; still stranger and more surprising are the adventures they meet with on a further pilgrimage into the Sun Age. This novel dates from 1343/1924-5 and the author promised to write a sequel which, so far as I know, has not yet appeared, despite the success enjoyed by the work.

Among the foremost story-tellers is Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Khusravī of Kirmanshah, a descendant of the old aristocracy, who, like so many others in his situation, joined the Constitutional movement. During the battles against the reactionary Muḥammad 'Alī (p. 357), he retired to the country where, "in deepest sorrow and sympathy for the misfortunes of his people and comrades"<sup>24</sup>, he wrote a chronicle of a Persian family at the time of the Il-Khāns, a trilogy under the titles *Shams u Ṭughrā*, 'Shams and Ṭughrā', *Mārī-i Venīsī*, 'Mary of Venice', and *Ṭughril u Humāy*, 'Ṭughril and Humāy'.<sup>25</sup>

The story is presumably set in the reigns of Abaqā-Khān and Aḥmad Takūdar – but historical events are modestly relegated to the background. The main themes are romantic episodes, battles and wars, intrigue and love, tragedies and victories, built around the hero Shams, a handsome knight of irreproachable character: his love for the beautiful aristocrat Ṭughrā, which, after almost inconceivable difficulties have been overcome, ends in their marriage; the passion of a Christian girl, Mary of Venice, for Shams, which also ends happily; and finally the story of the love of Shams' son for the young girl Humāy. This synthesis of the Persian heroic epic with the French adventure-story also contains the necessary didactic note: it shows the immorality and treachery of feudal elements. In his detailed analysis of Bāqir's work, mentioned above, Machalski underlines the ideological and social values and holds the work in great esteem.

Chronologically, the third historical novel was '*Ishq u salṭana*', 'Love and Power', written during the second year of the First World War by the Director of the Madrasa in Hamadan, Shaykh Mūsā (it appeared in Hamadan for the first time in 1338/1919 and in 1343/1924-5 in Bombay). This novel is a trilogy, the second part being entitled *Sitāra-i Līdī*, 'The Star of Lydia', and the third *Sarguzasht-i shāhzāda-khānum-i Bābīlī*, 'Story of a Babylonian Princess'. In the introduction the author states that he wishes to inform the reader about the life and times of Cyrus the Great and mentions that this is the first historical work in Persian written in European style.

In the developing of his heroes' characters, Shaykh Mūsā's work suffers – as do most of the prose literary experiments of this period – from the stereotyped heroes, *sans peur et sans reproche*, and their ignoble opponents, from the sentimental motivation of all their actions and from the lack of understanding of the psychological background to human behaviour. The slight advance that can be seen in this book

is in its language. His heroes talk simply and naturally – even if one cannot yet speak of an individualising of the language – and the description of nature is truer to life and has more human appeal than the traditional clichés.<sup>26</sup>

### C. IMPORTANT POETS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

The first bard of the revolutionary period, “the man to whom the whole nation listened”, was the poet ‘Ārif Qazvīnī (1312/1882).<sup>27</sup> Mirzā Abu’l-Qāsim, which was his real name, was born in Qazvin. His father, Mullā Hādī Vakīl Qazvīnī, gave him a sound education, taught him calligraphy – the most highly prized of the decorative arts – and also recitation, singing and music, for he recognised the declamatory and musical talents of his son and wanted him to become a *rauḍa-khvān*, a public singer and reciter who depicts the lives and sufferings of Islamic saints. ‘Ārif did not fulfil his father’s pious hopes and, at the end of the century, in 1316/1898–9, he was firmly ensconced in the circles of the Tehran *jeunesse dorée*. In this company he soon began to drink, smoke hashish and indulge in all the usual vices. He married at the age of 17, but the marriage ended in divorce and he never repeated the experiment.<sup>28</sup> Thanks to the popularity he achieved as a singer, ‘Ārif was soon accepted into court circles where he could have established his position. However, disgusted with the intrigues that went on there and with the empty pleasures and dull pastimes of Tehran higher society, he departed and cut himself off completely from this class. He went over to the supporters of the revolutionary movement and here at last he found something that gave meaning and purpose to his work. He tended to the democratic left wing, to whose ideas he dedicated his entire poetic art and vocal talent. During the First World War he became for a time a Turcophile – as did many nationalists out of opposition to England and Russia – and in 1334/1915 he emigrated to Istanbul, where he remained until 1338/1919. The policy of Turkey, however, particularly in relation to Azerbaijan, caused a change of heart and later, at one of his famous concerts, he was particularly ironical about Turkey and the Persian turcophile.

After his return to Persia, ‘Ārif roamed the country as an itinerant bard, joined the republican rising of Muḥammad Taqī-Khān in Khurasan and sang songs inciting the people to march against Tehran. After the tragic death of Taqī-Khān, the poet went to Kurdistan where, in the depths of the country, he led the life of a dervish and devoted himself to his poetry. As a man with a strong love for his country and interest in its destiny he could not long continue in this isolation and once more he organised a series of his famous vocal concerts, with even more success than before, making use of his own pamphlets and satirical poems. In the last years of his life, ‘Ārif, like so many of his contemporaries and former republicans, wrote poems glorifying the Zoroastrian faith. He died in 1934.<sup>29</sup>

‘Ārif’s *divān* was first published in Berlin in 1343/1924, with a foreword by Riḍā-zāda Shafaq and an incomplete autobiography in the style of Rousseau’s *Confessions*. The *divān* contained his famous ballads, *tašnīfs* and *ghazals*, that were known throughout the country thanks to the poet’s outstanding musical interpretations. ‘Ārif is the type of a minstrel, a mediaeval bard, a Persian Villon, who follows an inner compulsion to sing and to write verses; a popular figure who appears unexpectedly, sings, entertains his friends and then as suddenly disappears. He was not a profound original thinker, only a poet who knew how to combine his inspiration with a spontaneous revolutionary pathos and a tunefulness peculiar to folk-song, all of which made him the most popular singer of his time.<sup>30</sup>

The poet Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī, better known as Maliku’sh-shu‘arā Bahār (1880–1951), was the famous son of a famous father, the Khurasan court poet and miniaturist Ṣabūrī Maliku’sh-shu‘arā (King of Poets). Bahār received an excellent training for the profession of court poet from his father, an appointment he actually obtained on the latter’s death.

But the King of Poets was carried away by the pathos of the revolutionary patriots; he threw up his court career and, with profound conviction, entered the service of the revolution. His poems and satires, full of pithy comment on the existing situation and enthusiastic praise for the Constitution, were so successful that the poet, who now wrote under the pseudonym Bahār, soon came to the forefront of the democratic party. He became a journalist (after 1910 he edited a democratic paper *Nau-Bahār*, ‘New Spring’, in Mashhad), politician, poet and member of Parliament. When in 1916, during the Occupation, the younger poets formed a literary circle, Bahār was called upon to lead it in virtue of his literary merits. Under his leadership, this circle, *Jarga-i dānishvarī*, received a new name, *Dānish-kada*, ‘Place of Knowledge’, and published a literary review under the same title, in which Bahār upheld the classical tradition against the excesses of the modernists.<sup>31</sup>

After the War, Bahār devoted himself to a wide range of cultural activities. For some time he directed his own literary magazine, called *Nau-Bahār* (pp. 382–3); he wrote articles dealing with literary problems, an excellent manual on Persian stylistics, *Sabk-shināsī* (see B VIA) edited a number of classical works, etc.

Bahār was educated in the classical tradition of Persian poetry and often uses extremely complex art forms: only rarely is he influenced by European poetry, and this applies particularly to the arrangement of the rhymes, which affects only the external form. In theme his poems were closely associated with contemporary events.<sup>32</sup> He supported the Constitution, criticised the policies of the court, was sarcastic about the lack of state organisation (perhaps the garbage-strewn streets of Mashhad) and in the *ghazal* we even find him using social and political instead of the traditional themes. Thus Bahār achieved a homogeneous personal poetic style, intended for a wide public. His poetry was explicitly didactic in aim, but he succeeded in finding the appropriate poetic form for his teaching so that his poems rarely seem dry or pedantic.

After his death, Bahār's poetry was collected and published in a *dīvān*<sup>34</sup>; one of his friends, 'A. 'Irfānī wrote a biography, the second part of which contains a selection of poems made by the poet himself.<sup>35</sup>

One of the members of the European school of revolutionary poets was Mīrzā Yahyā Daulatābādī (1864–1939). He joined the constitutional movement when it was in its first phase, now as editor, now as propagandist, translator, poet or member of Parliament (he represented the Socialist Party in 1924).

Yahyā Daulatābādī's work shows great versatility. We have poems of his, collected in *Nihāl-i adab*, 'Shoot of Knowledge', and *Urdī-bihisht*, which are written not only in Persian but also in French. Besides this he wrote a comprehensive autobiography—*Hayāt-i Yahyā*—which contains references to contemporary political events; in addition there are several novels, and translations from French (Leconte de Lisle, Sully Prudhomme). His novel *Dāstān-i 'ishqī-i Shahrnāz*, 'Story of the Love of Shahrnāz', is characteristic of his philosophy. It was written in Istanbul about 1335/1916 and appeared ten years later in Tehran. The author, in telling the story of the beautiful and cultured heroine Shahrnāz, seeks to solve one of the urgent problems of contemporary Iran, the problem of the emancipation of Persian women. Perhaps the poet's membership of the Bahā'ī sect led him to seek for an improvement of relations with women and of their position in society within a somewhat naïve natural philosophy. "Nature is the eternal fount of happiness and bliss for the human race." He makes this statement in the introduction and the entire mental concept of the work is shaped by this attitude. Yet he does not offer anything very concrete in the way of a solution to the problem of women. The significance of the novel lies in something quite different from that intended by the author: it brought to light an extraordinary amount of ethnographic information from all regions of Iran.<sup>36</sup>

The whole of his output bears witness to the fact that Yahyā Daulatābādī was not a *poeta natus*. He had decided to serve the ideas of freedom and a better future for his people and it was this idea that spurred on his pen.

Shafaq<sup>37</sup> describes the poet Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb Pīshāvarī as "the herald of modern awakening". The learned historian Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb Pīshāvarī, a descendant of the eminent Shaykh Shihābu'd-dīn Suhrawardī, was born in 1260/1844. His childhood was spent among the nomads in the Pishavar district. He constantly listened to the famous savants—among them the only Persian philosopher of the 19th century, Mullā Hādī Sabzavārī—and travelled through a large part of Afghanistan and Persia until he settled in Tehran about 1300/1882–3. He was first and foremost an expert on the history of eastern Islam; among other works he prepared an edition of the well-known history *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaqī*. Although in age he belonged to an older generation, his poetical works are characteristic of the way of thinking of the Persian patriots during the period of the Constitutional struggles. He was a dedicated nationalist, a zealous enemy of western imperialism and, above all, such a strong Anglophobe that he became a convinced Germanophile in the idealistic fashion of the Berlin paper *Kāva* (p. 368).

A reflection in poetry of this attitude was the epic *Qaysar-nāma*, 'The Emperor's Book', which, in 14,000 couplets composed in the manner of the *Shāh-nāma*, glorified the struggle of the German Emperor William II and his generals who, the author believed, were fighting for freedom for all nations. The background to the story is the First World War, and it is interesting that the author describes the German heroes as having lances, swords and spears, as in Rustam's time. The *Qaysar-nāma* remained in manuscript. Pīshāvarī's verses, however – dispersed in various periodicals and characterised by the same trends of thought as his epic – were collected and published in a *divān*. They are interesting evidence of the ideas of a whole group of Persian patriots, to which the well-known Vahīd Dastgirdī belonged on account of his admiration for Hindenburg.

Adīb Pīshāvarī died in 1349/1930. He was an educated man of noble character with a remarkable memory, who remained single and without possessions all his life, dedicating himself to the pursuit of knowledge, philosophy and poetry, and renouncing all worldly pleasures. As such he was a new type of the old *adībs*. He differs from them in having a passionate love for his country and being in touch with political events.

A poet and patriot of the same type, but with a more marked interest in poetry as an art and in its future, was Mīrzā Šādiq-Khān Farāhānī Amīru'sh-shu'arā, better known under the pen-name of Adību'l-mamālik. He was born in the village of Kāzārān, near Sulṭānābād, of parents related on both sides to Qā'im-maqām (p. 335); the slights he suffered from his rich relations after the premature death of his father he has described in a fascinating autobiography which goes back, however, no further than to his seventeenth year. He began his career as a court poet in the service of Amīr-nizām Ḥasan 'Alī-Khān Garrūsī, in Tabriz, where he changed his original *nom de plume*, Parvāna, to Amīrī. He travelled a great deal in the entourage of Amīr-nizām and on his own, changed his abode and profession more than once, was teacher and government official, but chiefly editor, journalist and poet, one of the foremost propagators of the Constitution and of modern enlightenment of the people. He died in 1336/1917 shortly after having been appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in Yazd.

The output of Adību'l-mamālik covered a wide range of subject-matter. He wrote scientific articles (being acquainted with western culture and languages) on astronomy, prosody, geography, etc., travel books, *maqāms* and was possibly the compiler of a rhyming dictionary – but of this work not much seems to have been preserved. His *Divān* was first collected and published in 1312 *sh.*, by Vahīd Dastgirdī, after prolonged transactions with the poet's heirs. Adību'l-mamālik composed poems in all the classical forms except the *ghazal*; his particular domain, however, was the *qaṣīda*. In it was mirrored all the political activity in which the poet took such a keen part: criticism of public life and persons, appeals to fight for freedom and the Constitution, the propagation of a new and effective patriotism, and so on. All this had never hitherto been expressed with such noble pathos and in such

artistic form. In harmony with his progressive ideas was his poetic diction, his inner engagement imbuing it with an expressive freshness and vigour. He consistently followed the path which he unceasingly encouraged young poets to enter: "It is necessary to find something new! And if you wish to write verses, dedicate them to your country. Perhaps you are fond of love poetry. But what purer love is there than that which we feel for our native land?"<sup>38</sup>

A different trend is represented by the revolutionary pathos of the poet Abu'l-Qāsim Lāhūtī (1887–1957). He began his career as a poet with contributions to the daily press. His poems in the newspapers of the revolutionary period point along the path of militant nationalism, with strong anti-British tendencies, and a growing inclination towards socialist ideas. This brought him into conflict with official opinion to such an extent that he was taken to court and, in 1920, sentenced to death. He fled to Istanbul where, under particularly difficult circumstances, he published jointly with 'Alī Naurūz a Persian-French periodical entitled *Pārs* (from 1921). Not long after he returned to his native country and took part, along with many other revolutionaries, in the unfortunate February Rising in Tabriz in 1922.<sup>39</sup> After its defeat and the occupation of the city by government troops Lāhūtī fled, this time to the Soviet-Union, where a new epoch of his life began: he became the leading poet of Soviet Tajikistan. He wrote lyrical poetry, epics in which he sings the praises of modern national reawakening as embodied in the enthusiastic activities of enlightened patriots; he translated works from world literature and took an active part in the nation's cultural and political life.<sup>40</sup>

On the occasion of the poet's sixtieth birthday in 1946 his *dīvān* was published in Moscow. This is a comprehensive selection comprising 440 pages and containing examples of both his lyrical and his political poems, *ghazals*, of which several can well bear comparison in their poetical fragility and simple beauty with the *ghazals* of the classical poets.<sup>41</sup> As a man with a clearly defined philosophical outlook, Lāhūtī has the gift of clear-cut formulation of his poetical thoughts. The disputes so dear to his contemporaries about the old and the new style leave him indifferent.<sup>42</sup> In keeping with the subject-matter, he chooses now traditional, now modern forms, and his classical *rubā'ī* rank, according to Bertel's, "among the most progressive verses ever to have been written in the Persian language".<sup>43</sup>

*Other poet-personalities.* – A quite different type of poet from any that we have so far mentioned is Ja'far Khamnā'ī, a native of Tabriz. In opposition to the will of his father, a reactionary Tabriz merchant, prejudiced against poetry and particularly against the study of foreign languages, Khamnā'ī acquired a good command of French and an extensive knowledge of European literatures. The verses in which he wittily glossed contemporary events in the revolutionary newspapers of Tabriz, are written in rhymed stanza form. This consistent formal disregard for prosodic tradition distinguishes Khamnā'ī's lyric and especially his nature poetry. In this respect he is a poet-pioneer and a model for the youngest generation of poets.



From the large number of poets who took part in the literary life of Iran in the period of national enlightenment, we have here presented only a few, and these belonged to various artistic and human types. But by no means all of the most outstanding, who impressed the hallmark of their personality on contemporary life, have found mention here. Such a one, for instance, is the famous editor of the paper *Nasīm-i shimāl* (p. 367), Sayyid Ashrafu'd-dīn (Ashraf) Gīlānī, with his satires<sup>44</sup> – in which he made use of colloquial expressions and found scope for his sparkling wit – and his melodious ballads, *tašnīfs*.

An abundant contribution to the development of political satire was made by the founder of a modern prose style, 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā (p. 367); notable for the formal novelty and lyrical charm of his work is the poet Nizāmī-i Vafā. A share in the poetry of the time falls also to the admirable authority on and editor of classical poetry, Vahīd Dastgirdī<sup>45</sup> (p. 382); even at this time Farrukhī Yazdī documented his socialist convictions in his work (see pp. 387–8), among many others. Specimens of the poetry of these writers are contained in the anthologies compiled by M. Ishaque; some works have been edited in *Dīvāns*.

## NOTES

1. Cf. F. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain* (1965), 34–5.
2. Cf. Tagiryanov, *Vest. Leningrads. Univ.*, 1952, 8, 93 *et seq.*
3. Specimens of texts in Browne, *Press and Poetry*, 168–306; Machalski, *op. cit.*, ad 1.
4. Cf. on this, Klyashtorina, *KS*, 1956, 22, 56 *et seq.*
5. Cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, 126.
6. Specimens, with English translations, by Browne, *LHP*, 4, 469–82.
7. The influence of the French novel is analysed by Bertel's, *TMIV*, 1932, 1, 111–126, on economic grounds, to which Nikitine, in *JA*, 1933, 321 *et seq.*, has certain critical objections.
8. A list of the first translations of belles-lettres into Persian is given by Browne, *Press and Poetry*, 156 *et seq.*
9. Cf. Browne, *Persian Revolution*, p. 121 *et seq.*; Shoytov, *KS*, 9 (1953), 58 *et seq.*
10. Regarding the nature of the illustrations, cf. Browne, *Press and Poetry*, 16, 21, 26, etc.
11. *Press and Poetry*, 19.
12. Cf. p. 361, note 1.
13. For a fuller account see Bertel's, *Kul'tura i pis'mennost' Vostoka*, 3 (1928), 10–17.
14. Also translated into French (A. Bricteux) and into Danish (A. Christensen), cf. *Bibl. (C)*; on the influence of Akhundov on Malkum-Khān, cf. Shoytov, *KS*, 9 (1953), 62; Ibragimov and Mamedzade consider Malkum-Khān's authorship doubtful in the case of several plays, cf. *(C)*.
15. Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 54, mentions Dihkhudā's elegy on this occasion as one of the first strophic poems in European style.
16. Cf. Nicolas, *RMM*, 4 (1908), 261 *et seq.*; 5 (1908), 297 *et seq.*
17. For relations between Persian and Azerbaijani revolutionary journalism cf. Klyashtorina, *KS*, 27 (1958), 31 *et seq.*; Sharif, *KS*, 27 (1958), 23 *et seq.*

18. Cf. Vorozheykina, *O tvorchestve Iradzh-mirzi*, 76.
19. E. G. Browne, *The Reign of Terror in Tabriz; England's Responsibility* (London 1912).
20. G. Bouvat, 'La presse à Téhéran en 1915', *RMM*, 30 (1915), 274 *et seq.*
21. For further information see Shoytov, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
22. Cf. the Introduction to the Calcutta edition 1910 by Muḥ. Karīm Shīrāzī included in the Russian translation of the work by G. P. Michalevitsch.
23. For further information see Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 330 *et seq.*
24. This appears in the introduction to the work; see further, Machalski, *Charisteria Orientalia (Joanni Rypka)*, 151.
25. A new edition of all three parts appeared in Tehran, in 1950-1.
26. Further see Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 44-9.
27. Chaykin, in his *Ocherk*, p. 59, puts his date of birth as 1878-9.
28. Further see Bombaci, *OM*, 25 (1954), 42-53.
29. Cf. Shafaq, *MEJ*, 6 (1952), 427.
30. See B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur* (B. 1964), 36-44.
31. Further see Yāsīmī, *La poésie iranienne contemporaine*, 207, 209.
32. For further information on his scientific works see Peysikov, *KS*, 37 (1959), 9-22.
33. Cf. also Browne, *Press and Poetry*, pp. 260 *et seq.*; Ishaque, *Indo-Iranica*, 1946-7, 41 *et seq.* and Alavi, *op. cit.*, ad 30, pp. 56-8.
34. *Dīvān-i Bahār*, I (Tehran 1335), II (1336).
35. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamid 'Irfānī, *Aḥvāl va āthār-i Maliku'sh-shu'arā Muḥammad Taqī Bahār*, Tehran 1335.
36. See Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 106, 131 *et seq.*
37. Cf. *MEJ*, 6 (1952), 421; *Yādgār*, 8 (1924-5), 62 *et seq.*
38. Yāsīmī, *op. cit.*, 208.
39. For a fuller account see Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran 1918-1948*, 63.
40. For more on this, see M. Zand, *Abulqasim, Lakhuti*, M. 1957, and especially *Ocherk istorii Tajikskoy sovetskoy literatury*, M. 1961, 274-336.
41. A more detailed analysis of the work is given by Osmanova, *SV*, 6 (1957), 74 *et seq.*
42. Cf. Lakhuti, *Lit. Gazeta*, 31.8.1954.
43. *Ocherk*, 171.
44. Cf. Shafaq, *MEJ*, 6 (1952), 424.
45. See Bertel's, *Ocherk*, 169-70.

### III. LITERARY LIFE IN THE YEARS 1921-1941

The literature of the Constitutional period was, as we have seen, mainly of a topical political character; it aimed at communicating a content that should be comprehensible and give pointed expression to the ideas of the patriotic struggle then being waged. As regards form, of first importance was always the clarity of the formulation of the thought and its comprehensibility for the broad masses and an inclination to use folk-literature as a medium of expression. And even though it might seem at a first glance that, in a literature bound by the tradition of very strict rhetorical principles, such a situation was indicative of a clear break with the past, this was in reality not the case. It was merely that the revolutionary wave had for a time forced its will upon all artistic activities; a basic change in the literary attitude had not so far taken place, as the further course of development was to show when Riḍā-Shāh began to rule the country according to strictly defined conceptions and when conditions in public life ceased to be favourable for the active participation of free-thinking men of literature.

It then became evident that the formal aspects of their work were constantly in the minds of men of letters. Many theoretical studies on the new poetical and prose styles, criticism of the classical heritage and still more of what had spontaneously arisen in recent years, evoked at this time no less interest than the actual literary production. Literary periodicals were founded (pp. 382-3) and literary circles and societies came into being, the members of which worked out and justified their creative programmes and propagated their conceptions of the path along which modern Persian literature should advance. In this whirl of thoughts and views two main streams began to form: the conservatives (*kuhna-parastān*) and the modernists (*mutajaddidūn, inqilābiyyūn*). In questions of Persian poetry, both proceeded from the same presumption, namely the need for its revival, resuscitation, rejuvenation. With regard to the means to be employed to gain this end they differed fundamentally. The conservatives sought salvation in a return to the simpler pre-Mongolian styles (p. 115)

which they tried to revive and link up with, taking Firdausī, Nizāmi and Sa'dī as their models. The modernists, in their most radical theories, thought to find a solution, on the contrary, in a complete departure from all classical tradition, whose rhetorical prescriptions and laws they considered to be so much dead weight preventing the poet from letting his thoughts soar untrammelled; as for the fixed metaphors of the classical lyric (figure = cypress, waist = sugar-cane, eyebrows = bow, etc.)<sup>1</sup>, these they ridiculed in parodies in order to support their arguments. They declared the European poetry – especially French romantic poetry, which thanks to its freedom of form and simplicity of diction can, they believe, best express the modern world – to be their pattern. In support of the correctness of their views they cited contemporary Turkish poetry which had adopted this course with good results (only in Turkey the situation was somewhat different, especially in the attitude to classical poetry). The most intensive theoretical thought cannot, however, lead to any generally valid conclusions, for here we are concerned with a matter of art, the new orientation of which cannot be laid down by theorists, but only by the poets themselves in their works.

The poetical production of this period shows clearly that only in the choice of themes is a departure from traditional canons observable on a larger scale. Here the door is opened to a modern view of nation and native land<sup>2</sup>, of social and societal problems, of human relations and also of Nature, not seldom with a philosophical undertone betraying a predilection for French romanticism. Social themes are frequently employed, often charged with a sentimental sympathy for the suffering and oppressed, for hardship and poverty, and accompanied by the expression of moral indignation at such a state of affairs and a call for remedy (cf. Parvīn).

These thematic innovations are only seldom linked up with any substantial modernisation of form; we come across the traditional metres and rhyme patterns; we read *mathnavīs*, *rubā'īyyāt*, *ghazals*, *qit'as*, and sometimes variations of stanza forms just as in the period of the Constitution. The European stanza, free rhyme and metre, are much less common than might be expected judging by the radical theories held by these writers – and even poets belonging to the modernist group still write occasional verses in classical style (cf. 'Ishqī).

Another fundamental question that is a matter of dispute between the conservatives and the modernists is the role of literary prose in the modern literature of Iran. The few novels, mostly historical, which had so far represented this genre, did not contribute much to the solution of the question, if only because they were frequently ranked as scientific in the traditional use of the term, that is, as based on historical facts. It was the modernists who came forward in defence of prose as a literary genre. They boldly proclaimed that it was of greater merit to write good straightforward, non-bombastic prose than a few lines of rhyming verse, and supported their view with examples from the prose of western nations. In this field the decisive word – in respect of both the theoretical and practical aspects of the matter – was spoken by Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda (pp. 389–91). His article on the social, cultural and instruc-

tive significance of literary prose is rightly cited and from his first book of short stories, *Yakī būd yakī nabūd*, with which he illustrated his theory, the new generation of prose writers learnt their craft.<sup>3</sup> The short story or *novella* thus occupied the ground plan in the development of modern prose and achieved a much higher level than the novel, despite the fact that an occasional outstanding work was to be found, especially as regards the choice of theme.

The strong nationalist character of Riḍā's régime explains to a considerable extent an access of interest in folklore production. In Tehran, a Museum of Folklore was installed and the Ministry of Culture appealed for the collection of folk-songs, fairy-tales, music, etc. Many notable poets, several of whom were also excellent theorists in the domain of folklore, took part in this work, among them being S. Hidāyat (pp. 410–2), with his *Nayrangistān* and studies on folk-song, of which he was a collector. Another of the collectors of songs, texts and melodies, who was the great pioneer in this field, was Ḥ. Kūhī Kirmānī<sup>4</sup>; a comprehensive collection of proverbs and sayings was edited by the versatile 'A. A. Dihkhudā (p. 377)<sup>5</sup>; an assiduous collector of proverbs being also professor Aḥmad-Khān Bahmanyār<sup>6</sup>; fairy-tales were collected, published and related on the Tehran Radio by F. Muhtadī Šubḥī (d. 1962).<sup>7</sup>

Besides providing the impetus for a more thorough study of folklore, the nationalism of this period – though on the whole a step back as compared with the liberalism of the Constitutional period – produced some other tendencies which favourably influenced contemporary prose literature: such were a scholarly interest in national history, in language and its purity, in extensive archaeological excavations, etc.

An important contribution to the evolving of a modern literary style were, in this period too, translations from western literatures. As many of the literati of this time had a good knowledge of foreign languages and themselves did translation work, both the selection of translated works and their quality are on a high level. Thus not only Dumas Fils, Victor Hugo and Daudet enter Persian literature, but also Plutarch, Anatole France, Voltaire, Goethe, Pushkin, Tolstoy, and many<sup>8</sup> of the best representatives of the short story – Chekhov, Maupassant, Poe, Wilde, in translations by Falsafī, Jamāl-zāda, Hidāyat, Hunarī, Yāsimī, Nafīsī, and other masters of Persian prose.

The daily press, as follows from the contemporary situation described above, had no longer the importance for the literary world that the newspapers had had in the revolutionary period. Nevertheless it took over their didactic role and in time even enlarged it, so that public opinion was very skilfully directed into the channel dictated by the central will. It is interesting that Lescot<sup>9</sup>, in his evaluation of the Persian press of this period, underlines the positive aspects, showing how a wide variety of problems of daily life, questions of health and hygiene, of human relations, of political importance, etc., were solved in its pages, in open discussion and in relatively modern fashion. Similarly magazines for women served above all educational aims, confining themselves, however, to the narrower circle of women's interests –

the home and the upbringing of children; the more fundamental questions of the emancipation of Iranian women, their education and so on, were not touched upon. In spite of the vigilance of the censorship, papers did appear now and again that criticised existing conditions and propagated the revolutionary ideas of democratic or socialist trends.<sup>10</sup>

#### A. LITERARY REVIEWS BETWEEN 1921 AND 1941

The main scene of the literary battles, which became sharper as time went on in an attempt to curb the excesses of the modernists, was the monthly paper *Armaghān*, 'The Gift', the first volume of which appeared in 1298 *sh*. In 1926 it was the rallying point of one of the more important of Tehran's literary societies, 'Anjuman-i adabī-i Irān'. At its head were Ḥusayn Ṣanī'ī, Mīrzā Nā'imī and Vahīd Dastgirdī, the latter being the editor of the review. In *Armaghān* we find the most important polemical treatises on aesthetic problems, experiments in contemporary poetry and prose and translations.<sup>11</sup> In 1923 the paper *Bahār*, 'Spring', directed by the poet-journalist I'tiṣāmu'l-mulk, competed for a short time with *Armaghān*. The standard of this paper was equally high but since it appeared for such a short time its influence on literary development was not comparable with that of *Armaghān*. The poetry it published consisted mainly of work by its editor, the first essays into poetry of his daughter Parvīn (p. 387), and the verses of Rashīd Yāsīmī (p. 388). Among the many translations which appeared in its pages was a remarkable Persian paraphrase of Lermontov's *Demon*. In 1342/1923 the poet Nizām-i Vafā started to publish his magazine *Vafā*.<sup>12</sup> This paper had no definite programme and its contents were very mixed in quality. It contained more translations from French and German than original Persian work, among the latter being mainly poems by the editor – sentimental in character and closely linked in theme with the western romantic lyric. Their value lies in their simple, comprehensible and completely unaffected language. The poet also wrote an autobiography in verse, entitled *Mathnavī*.

The paper of progressive Persian youth, the so-called 'Young Iranians', brought up in western ways, was the monthly *Āyanda*, 'The Future', which was edited by Maḥmūd Afshār. Samples of both the European style and the conservative form appeared in its pages. One of the most talented poets working for the paper was Badī'u'z-zamān Bushrūyā'i, now Furūzānfār Khurāsānī. He excelled first and foremost as a scholar, as an admirer of and a distinguished authority on Ṣūfī poetry. In this field he wrote several valuable books and a series of outstanding studies.

A literary-political review was also published for a short time by Maliku'sh-shu'arā Bahār. Its title, *Nau-bahār*, 'New Spring', was taken from the journal which

he had directed during the Constitutional period in Mashhad (p. 368). The tradition of the satirical supplement of *Sūri-i Isrāfīl* (p. 367) was continued, as far as censorship permitted, about six years later by the weekly *Nāhīd*, edited by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm-Khān.<sup>13</sup>

Round about 1929 the linguistic purists of Tehran also founded several periodicals devoted to the problems of 'pure Persian'.<sup>14</sup> They not only aimed at substituting Persian for Arabic words, but they also endeavoured to eliminate the European words that had crept into the native vocabulary with technical civilisation and the industrialisation of the country. What they in fact strove after was the use of a pure, vigorous language. Such purist trends were already evident during the second half of the previous century (see, for example, the poet Yaghmā, pp. 333-4). They were characteristic of the pre-revolutionary era, exemplified by the essays of Malkum-Khān with their lucid modern style (pp. 365-6). Now and again papers appeared propagating the revolutionary ideas of democratic or socialist trends, but they were short-lived. Of these, *Tūfān*, 'The Whirlwind', founded in 1921 by the poet Farrukhī (pp. 387-8), had the longest life, in spite of continual persecution by the censorship. The group of poets and journalists that gathered around *Tūfān* helped to solve the problems of modern literature by means of their theoretical articles on the importance of realistic prose; and it is also to their credit that they spread a knowledge of Russian and Soviet literature (*Tūfān* published translations of Pushkin, Tolstoy, Bielinsky and contemporary authors) and of the Russian contemporary scene (thanks to *Safar-nāma-i Farrukhī* – a report of the poet's visit to the U.S.S.R. in 1927, where he attended the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution).<sup>15</sup>

During this period too the Persian periodicals published abroad were not without importance, for in many respects they were in a better position to express opinions freely. The best of them was the Berlin paper *Irānshahr*, founded in 1341/1922 and, from the point of view of literary history, the successor to the former *Kāva* (p. 368). It must be admitted that it did not always possess sufficiently accurate information – in 1924 it celebrated somewhat prematurely the establishment of a republic in Persia – but that did not diminish its significance. Kāẓim-zāda was the editor and his regular collaborators included Ḥusayn-Khān Dānish, a poet from Isfahan, bi-lingual in Turkish and Persian, who lived permanently in Istanbul, and the poet Ghanī-zāda, amongst others. The review helped to spread Persian culture by carrying on the publishing-house Kaviani-Press (p. 368).<sup>16</sup> Of rather less importance was a second Persian magazine published in Berlin, the monthly *Farangistān*, directed by the youngest generation of Persians. They had grown up in Berlin, were somewhat germanophile and tended in several respects to overestimate the value of western civilisation. Although only six or seven numbers of the bi-monthly *Pārs* appeared, it was of a high literary standard. It was published in French and Persian in Istanbul under the editorship of the poets Lāhūtī (p. 376) and 'Alī Naurūz (also known under the name of Ḥasan-Khān Muqaddam).

## B. THE MAIN TRENDS IN POETRY

According to Arberry, the last of the classical poets and the first of the moderns was Mīrzā Īraj Jalālu'l-mamālik. His life, almost untouched by the tumultuous times in which he lived, was essentially different from that of his contemporaries. He was born in 1291/1874. His father, Ghulām Ḥusayn Mīrzā, a great-grandson of Fath-'Alī-Shāh, gave him a thorough and systematic education. He learned Arabic, Turkish, Russian and French, which he mastered completely. At an early age he entered the service of the court and at 19 was made court poet by the Qajar Shāh Muẓaffaru'd-dīn on account of his undoubted poetic talent. This appointment with its duties became increasingly burdensome to him, as he was exceptionally broadminded and very independent in his thought and judgement. He therefore left the court and became secretary to the governor of Tabriz. When the latter became Prime Minister he accompanied him on a journey to Europe. During the Constitutional revolution and counter-revolution, he was employed at the Ministry of Education and later at the Ministry of Finance. During the upheavals following the First World War, he was confidential adviser to the American financial mission, which he accompanied on numerous tours of inspection throughout the country. He returned to Tehran a sick man and died relatively young in March 1345/1926.<sup>17</sup>

Just as political events had no disturbing effect on the life of Īraj Mīrzā, so his poetry was only indirectly affected by them. His attitude was that of a sympathising intellectual, who, although accepting the need for many reforms, was not touched emotionally by revolutionary happenings, because as a Qajar prince their pathos was alien to him. Among the new ideas which abounded at that time, the one which interested the poet most was the problem of women.<sup>18</sup> He wrote a very popular satire on the hypocrisy of covering the face called *Ḥijāb-nāma*, 'Book on the Veil', a poem which produced such a strong response that the pupils of a Tehran girls' school welcomed the poet with gifts and a letter of greeting when he returned to Tehran from Mashhad shortly after its publication. Numerous beautiful verses on the theme of motherhood and maternal love, springing from deep feeling and written in simple, tender poetic language, were quite a novelty in contemporary poetry – and apart from this they influenced the modern attitude to the pressing problem of the status of women.

The fable was a suitable vehicle for the poet's intellect and sense of humour. He made verse translations of a series of Lafontaine's Fables and also wrote some himself. Social and political questions are the subject-matter of the poems in his *'Arīf-nāma*, 'Book of 'Arīf'. It contains venomous satires on the poet 'Arīf and he makes critical mention of other poets as well (Kamālī, Dihkhudā, Bahār, etc.) who, in his opinion, were following in the wake of various political objectives (Īraj brands all politicians as charlatans). Vorozheykina maintains that his pamphlet – which also



contains attacks on the reactionary views of Islam on the question of women – increased the poet's popularity.<sup>19</sup>

Most of Īraj's work was collected into a *divān* by his son Khusrau, who added an affectionate introduction. No criticism, however justified, can diminish the value and significance of this poet who, during a period of trial and error, succeeded in finding a method of expression in poetry which strove towards the future.

Although the social position of poets has undergone fundamental changes in recent times, one of its remarkable peculiarities remains; for even in present-day Iran statesmen and politicians, court officials, university teachers and scholars all write poetry. Typical of the latter is the poet Pūr-i Dāvūd who, in his admiration of Zoroastrianism, is also characteristic of a certain circle of contemporary progressive patriots.

Mīrzā Ibrāhīm-Khān Pūr-i Dāvūd was born in Rasht in 1303/1885; he studied Islamic languages and literature at home and French in Beirut and Paris. Later he went to Berlin, where he studied law. Even then he was interested in literary events in his own country and with some of his friends founded the 'Literary Society of Persians in Paris'.<sup>20</sup> During the revolutionary period, he enthusiastically praised the Constitution in his poetry and wrote poems on Persia's glorious past in a spirit of romantic patriotism. Some of his poems were written in a pure Persian, purged of all Arabic words. He was, however, neither a rigid purist nor a literary conservative, for on other occasions he turned to European models and then used normal Persian. Later on the poet was one of the collaborators on the Berlin paper *Kāva* (p. 368) and *Irān-shahr* (p. 383). Like many other writers living abroad, he too was premature in celebrating in verse the establishment of a republican constitution in Persia that proved to be a false report. Pūr-i Dāvūd's joy at this event resulted in an outburst of poetry and led to his speedy return to Persia. For some time he devoted himself to journalism on the Tehran *Rastākhīz*, 'The Resurrection', but soon returned to Berlin, where he studied Zoroastrianism and translated texts from the *Avesta* (for example, he published a translation and commentary on the Book of Yasht). Later he visited India several times and finally settled in Bombay among the Parsee community.<sup>21</sup> In 1345/1926 he gave a vivid description of their cultural life in a well-documented book. He soon felt at home there and published a *divān* – consisting mainly of patriotic poems in classical style – entitled *Pūrāndukht-nāma*, with appended English translations.<sup>22</sup>

It was from distinctly patriotic motives that the short-lived poet 'Ishqī also paid homage in verse to Zoroastrianism. The romantic love he bore towards his native land was the cause of constant modification in his convictions, and this finally cost him his life. Muḥammad Riḍā, whose *nom de plume* was 'Ishqī, was born in Hamadan in 1312/1894 and was descended from the family of Sayyid Abu'l-Qāsim Kurdistānī. He studied Arabic and French and for a time even worked as a commercial interpreter in Hamadan – but he was soon swept into the stormy course of events. His opposition to the intervention of the Great Powers during the First World War

forced him into the circle of the most radical nationalists. During 1334/1915 he fought in the Nationalist Home Army (p. 393), after the defeat of which by the British he emigrated to Istanbul. After the end of the First World War, he returned to Persia and once more entered politics on the Nationalist side. As an outspoken opponent of the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1338/1919, he was even imprisoned for a short time. It was during this period that the vehement poems appeared in which he poured out his disgust at the representatives of the Qajar government. During the troubled post-war period he tended towards the views of Diyā'u'd-dīn (p. 358) and supported the review *Qarn-i bīstum*. For some time he edited the radical paper *Shafaq-i surkh*, 'Red Sky', and wrote essays with revolutionary titles, which however contained no very lucid ideas. He launched bitter satires against the members of the 'third majlis' and particularly the poet Bahār (pp. 373-4) whom, as a former revolutionary, he reproached for having accepted a seat in the majlis.<sup>23</sup> At the time when the democratic supporters of Riḍā-Khān believed that his revolt (see above) would lead to the establishment of a republic, 'Ishqī also wrote poems expressing his enthusiasm for the latter. When however it became clear that Riḍā-Khān had other aims in view, the poet went to the opposite extreme and in July 1342/1924 expressed his opposition to Riḍā-Khān by publishing caricatures of the latter and a satire written from the point of view of a devoted supporter of the Qajar dynasty. The publication of the paper was immediately suspended and the poet treacherously assassinated several days later. His funeral turned into a royalist manifestation encouraged by the Qajar court.

'Ishqī's work was collected and published in a *divān*; the first edition appeared at the end of the 1920's and another in 1324 *sh.* under the redaction of 'Alī Akbar Sulaymī. Machalski<sup>24</sup>, in his detailed analysis of 'Ishqī's poetry, draws particular attention to those of his poems which, on account of the novelty of their thought and form (highly ingenious variations in the strophic form of the *musammaṭ*, new rhymes, experiments with syllabic verse, etc.), can be considered significant for the moulding of the new style. Among these are the *Kafan-i siyāh*, 'The Black Shroud', a phantasy among the ruins of Ctesiphon, with an emphatic call to the fight against the veiling of women; the poem *Ideāl* 'The Ideal', the story of a father who loses his three children in tragic fashion and now hopes for a 'Leninist' revolution to bring about an improvement in the terrible political and social conditions that were largely responsible for his misfortune; the tender early work *Naurūz-nāma*, 'New Year Book'; and several political satires. 'Ishqī's works include a play, which served as libretto for the first Persian opera, called *Rastākhīz-i-salāṭīn-i Irān*, 'The Rise of the Sultāns of Iran'. (The poet himself took part in the performance.) It is full of patriotic pathos and the final scene introduces the Prophet Zoroaster. The play is still performed.

During his short life 'Ishqī wrote more than 5000 couplets. Many were written around topical events and disappeared with their subject-matter. Yet among his lyric poems – and particularly in his nature lyrics – are to be found some of the finest examples that we possess in the new Persian style.

The most important poetess of this time, Parvīn I'tiṣāmī, belonged in years to the younger generation, and her work is entirely untouched, even at the beginning, by the revolution. Daughter of the journalist and poet Yūsuf I'tiṣāmu'l-mulk (p. 382), Parvīn was born in 1328/1910 and received a modern education at the American girls' college in Tehran as well as a classical training, above all in Persian and Arabic poetry, at home from her father. Her first poems, doubtless written under her father's guidance, appeared in the second volume of I'tiṣāmu'l-mulk's review *Bahār*. Examples of her work are also to be found in modern anthologies.<sup>25</sup> Parvīn's *dīvān* was published in Tehran in 1344 *sh.* and shows clearly that the poetess stood aloof from the theoretical controversies of her time and from the then disputed forms. She composed according to the rules of classical poetry – albeit in simple language – often consciously imitating the 'Art of the Ancients'.<sup>26</sup> Just as did classical authors, she enjoyed using philosophical and moralising themes with pointed reference to contemporary events. Unfortunately, however, she hardly grazed the surface of the really urgent problems, even in the poems on social themes. She chose her subject-matter from the lives of the pauperised members of the lower classes, and had sympathy for their misery and suffering. She did not, however, attempt to find a solution or to penetrate more deeply into the social context, but lapsed into sentimental and affected melancholy.

The novelty of the themes treated by Parvīn is, however, undisputed<sup>27</sup>, and one might venture to suggest that, had she lived longer, she would have attained a greater depth of philosophy and feeling in her work than was evident when she died at the age of 30, in 1320 *sh.*

Mirzā Muḥammad Farrukhī of Yazd (b. 1306/1889), poet-journalist, was the antipode of 'Ishqī as regards consistency of views. From the beginning of the revolutionary struggles he had stood on the left wing of the Democrat-Socialists. He began writing poetry when still at school. At the age of fifteen he recited a revolutionary and patriotic *musammaʿ* of his own composition at a New Year's celebration of the Democratic Party in Yazd; he was arrested, imprisoned and his mouth sewn up as a punishment.<sup>28</sup> After some time he managed to escape from prison and in 1910 reached Tehran where he worked with other patriotic poets on revolutionary papers. His views acquired an increasingly strong bias towards socialism; of this he made no secret even during the First World War when it was particularly dangerous, and he welcomed the October Revolution with enthusiastic verses.<sup>29</sup> As a result he awakened the suspicion and displeasure of official circles, which was apparent later in the continual persecution and ultimate confiscation of the newspaper *Tūfān*, which he edited from 1921.

Farrukhī remained an enthusiastic supporter of socialist views even as a member of the majlis, in 1930–31, indeed so openly that, because of the disfavour of government circles, he was obliged to emigrate to Berlin. Not even then did he give up his work as a poet and journalist, and immediately joined the editorial board of the news-

paper *Paykār*, 'The Struggle', which came out there. After some time he was given official permission to return to Tehran, but shortly afterwards he was accused of insulting the ruling house and sentenced to imprisonment. He died in the prison hospital in 1939.

"In my heart there was no other passion than the longing for the freedom of Iran" – this confession might serve as the most fitting motto for his lifework. A fearless fighter for social justice and freedom, in his verses he never ceased to rouse the nation to fight against all the forces that held the people in subjection; at the same time he proclaimed his conviction that Iran had the strength to free herself without any foreign aid.<sup>30</sup> In respect of poetic form, Farrukhī – as the title of his *divān* also indicates – was an upholder of classical poetry, which, considering Iranian conservatism in these matters, is undoubtedly one of the reasons why his poems are still so assiduously read.<sup>31</sup>

The I'tiṣāmu'l-mulk review, *Bahār*, published the verses of Rashīd Yāsīmī (b. 1314/1896 in Kirmānshāh), literary historian – in the view of native critics one of the best – and well known for his monographs on Ibn-i Yamīn, Salmān of Sāva, and many smaller literary studies. From his pen comes the translation of Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, IV, as well as of a number of works from world literature, such as Bourget's *Disciple*, Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, and many Persian versions of French poetry. Yāsīmī was among the youngest founders of the first modernist literary circle, 'Jarga-i dānishvarī' (p. 373), yet he was never a radical modernist. His reflective lyrics, the best part of his poetry, remain within the limits of the classical canon.

"A great master of the word", is Chaykin's<sup>32</sup> designation for the poet Badī'ūz-zamān Bushrūyā'i (now Furūzānfar), who is a typical exponent of the trend to write about topical matters (Iran Yesterday and Today, Praise of Railways, etc.) in classical form.<sup>33</sup> By profession this poet is a historian of literature, and occupies a chair in the Literary Faculty at Tehran University. Here he lectures on Persian literature and is first and foremost an authority on mystical poetry.

A poet who was persecuted at times for his verses and whose critical orientation was determined by the conscious socialism of his political views, was Mīrzā Yaḥyā-Khān Rayḥān. At the opposite pole in respect of his opinions was the pan-Islamist Aḥmad-Khān Bahmanyār, who used the *takhalluṣ Dihqān*, and was also a professor at the University of Tehran. In addition he made a study of folk-art (p. 381). A disciple of the poet Īraj Mīrzā was the jurist Sayyid Ṣādiq-Khān. Couched in modern untraditional style and in European forms are the verses of Mīrzā Luṭf 'Alī-Khān Ṣūratgar and Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Qāsim-Khān I'tiṣām-zāda Niyāzī, editor of the bilingual Tehran daily *Sitāra-i Irān*, 'Star of Iran'. Vice-President of the majlis and for a time Chairman of the literary society 'Anjuman-i adabī' (p. 382), M. Hāshim-Mīrzā Shaykhu'r-ra'īs is known for his didactic verses which are well spiced with humour. A composer of good *ghazals* is the woman miniature-painter Jannat.

From this handful of names, which could easily be multiplied a number of times, as Ishaque's and other anthologies confirm, the truth of what was pointed out above can be seen. Among the Persian intelligentsia which belonged to a wide variety of social groups and occupations, it was still a matter of honour to cultivate the art of poetry. This extensive amateurism, which naturally was mainly imitative and conservative in character, helped to create a milieu that was almost positively hostile to attempts to introduce modern expression.<sup>34</sup> To this too must be attributed the fact that no few Persian literary works – the foundation stones of the new style – achieved recognition abroad sooner than at home, and that modern poetry has made much slower headway than might be expected in a nation with such a rare poetical genius as has the Persian.

### C. PERSIAN PROSE AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN SHORT STORY

A literary event of the 1920's that was to be of historical importance for the development of the new prose was the publication of a slim book of short stories (*novella*) under the title *Yakī būd-yakī nabūd*. The work appeared in 1340/1921–22, the publishers being *Kāva*, Berlin, and the author the young historian Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda. When the stories first reached Iran they were very unfavourably received; nor were condemnatory demonstrations lacking against the writer who had dared so to criticise his compatriots, and in some places the book was actually publicly burned.<sup>35</sup> All of this only serves as proof that the stories of Jamāl-zāda were, in their way, a literary revolution. The further development of prose and the role of the short story in it confirmed such a view.

Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda was born in Isfahan as the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣfahānī, the well-known public speaker and journalist of the period of the Revolution and one of the tragic victims of patriotic aspirations.<sup>36</sup> Jamāl-zāda's education was predominantly European in character: the French lycée in Beirut, law studies in Lausanne and then in Dijon. After the First World War he lived in Berlin for some time and collaborated with members of the Persian progressive intelligentsia on the staff of the periodical *Kāva*. There his first stories were published, as well as several scientific works dealing with history and sociology.

With the six stories of his first book<sup>37</sup>, Jamāl-zāda laid the foundations of Persian satirical prose. The stories reveal a remarkably fresh approach and a fearless militancy, and from the formal point of view a true mastery of poetical hyperbole. As a trained historian and sociologist the author saw things and relations in their wider implications – thus not only corrupt politicians, shameless career-hunters, a hypo-

critical priesthood, but also the social system and the social conditions which allowed such people to exist. But his erudition never weighs down the wings of his poetical flight. And even though in the author's philosophical attitude and especially in his rare humour, there is still perceptible a gleam of Sa'di's humanism, his means of expression, his style and diction are consistently modern. They are brought into closer conformity with the spoken language and often enlivened with expressive vulgarisms.<sup>38</sup> Of fundamental importance, too, was the Introduction with which the author prefaced the stories. In it he treats of the role of prose in literature. The article designates prose as the most democratic of the literary genres and stresses, in addition to its artistic significance, its important function as a medium of instruction and enlightenment. Hereby Jamāl-zāda took his place among the foremost pioneers of modern literary views in opposition to the conservatives, who declined to recognise prose as an art at all.

The artist continued his literary activities as a writer of short stories (seven stories were published in 1321 *sh.* under the title '*Amū Husayn 'Alī*, and many more are scattered about in various periodicals), but his novels constitute the main and most voluminous part of his oeuvre. These comprise the satire *Dāru'l-majānīn*, 'The Mad-house', from the year 1320, along with *Qiṣṣa-i qiṣṣa-hā*, 'The Story of Stories'; then a fantasy abounding in wit and originality, *Ṣaḥrā-i maḥshar*, 'The Plateau of the Last Judgement', in which the writer's young Iranian biographer M. Vasīghī discerns his subject's basic philosophical attitude, namely the demand for absolute freedom of the individual – almost reminiscent of Ismā'īlī radicalism.<sup>39</sup> The sad end of human cunning and greed is the theme of *Rāh-i āb-nāma*, 'Story of the Water-Channel', in a story with the inhabitants of a little street in Tehran as its actors. Among the best of Jamāl-zāda's novels is *Qultashan-i dīvān*, 'Custodian of the Dīvān', where, against the background of an excellently drawn Tehran of the first two decades of the century, he unfolds the story of a career-hunter, whom society rewards for all his swindles and trickery with success and general esteem.<sup>40</sup> Jamāl-zāda's social criticism gives way to reminiscences of his youth in the last of his novels, *Sar u tah-i yak karbās yā Isfahān-nāma*, 'Beginning and End of a Web or Book of Isfahan', where he returns to the countryside setting where he spent his childhood.<sup>41</sup>

Of the first importance for Iranian modern prose are also Jamāl-zāda's translations from French, English and German (Bernardin de St. Pierre, Daudet, his special favourite Anatole France, then Wilde, Schiller and others). Significant work, too, for the raising of the cultural level of the nation – an aim which this outstanding artist never ceased to follow – are Jamāl-zāda's historical, socio-political and economic works, beginning with his *Mazdak* (*Kāva*, 1920) and ending with his 'Survey of the Social and Economic Situation in Iran' (*Revue Internationale du Travail*, 1949–51).

From the 'twenties onwards, following Jamāl-zāda's example, Persian writers began to introduce social criticism into their novels, but so far none can equal him in the

penetration and non-sentimentality of his view of life. A favourite theme among these authors, brought up with a knowledge of western views of society, was the problem of the Persian woman and her social status, practically still untouched by modern emancipation. For the artistic treatment of these themes many of the novelists found their most congenial models in the sentimental, moralising French authors of the 19th century, foremost among whom was Dumas Fils.

The first work of this type appeared under the title *Tihṛān-i makhūf*, 'Dreadful Tehran'. It was published in the paper *Sitāra-i Irān* in 1341/1922 and in book-form in 1343. The author was the young poet Murtaḍā Mushfiq Kāzīmī, a collaborator on the Berlin papers *Irān-shahr* and *Farangistān* (p. 383). He later joined the Tehran *Irān-i javān*, in which he published mainly translations from the French. This greatly influenced his style of writing. The novel attempted to describe in realistic fashion the unhappy situation of Persian women, the rottenness of society and the social circumstances which forced women to descend to the very lowest of social levels – the brothel. From conversations with prostitutes the reader becomes acquainted with the life-stories of a number of these women, and the devious ways that have led to their fall. The main theme of the story is the unhappy love of the young hero Farrukh and his mistress Mihīn and the adventures in which they become involved. Indeed the romantic story of Farrukh often recalls whole passages of Dumas' *Count of Monte Christo*. From an artistic viewpoint the novel is of slight significance. However, thanks to its vivid narrative style and its attractive theme, the book met with extraordinary success among a wide audience and ran to several editions. Its particular importance lies in the fact that in this form it drew the attention of contemporary Iranian society to the pressing need for finding a solution to the problem of women.<sup>42</sup>

'Abbās Khalīlī, a journalist who was born in Irak, tackled similar problems in his novels *Rūzgār-i siyāh*, 'Black Destiny'<sup>43</sup>, which appeared in 1925, *Asrār-i shab*, 'Secret of the Night', *Intiqām*, 'Revenge', and *Insān*, 'Man'. In the story of *Rūzgār-i siyāh*, the author, tired of city pleasures, is living in the country and meets a young woman. She turns out to be a prostitute who is there to be cured of tuberculosis. The two young people get to know each other and out of friendship the author looks after her, but her condition becomes steadily worse. At last she feels that she is dying and decides to tell her new friend the chain of events that led her to the brothel.<sup>44</sup> Her life-story is the real nucleus of the work, and its close resemblance to Dumas Fils' *La Dame aux Camélias* is immediately obvious. In *Intiqām* Khalīlī likewise describes an unhappy woman who tells her son of her sad fate. Khalīlī too is concerned to describe a social milieu which, until then, was hardly known in Persian literature. The adventurous intrigues which he describes also reveal a certain dependence on his model Dumas. The flow of the narrative is held up by long sentimental passages interspersed with affected rhetorical exclamations. Characteristic of Khalīlī is his negative attitude to the situation in the country in which the tragic

position of women is but one of an infinite number of evils and injustices. The poet frequently denounces this situation, but in his hopeless pessimism he sees no solution that can bring relief.

The popular prose-writer of the upper classes, the intellectual M. Hījāzī, deals with the problem of women from a slightly different point of view (pp. 409–10). Half-way through the 'thirties Muḥammad Mas'ūd Dihātī appeared with trenchant criticism of social conditions from the philosophical standpoint of an avowed pessimist. His first works, *Tafriḥāt-i shab*, 'Entertainments of the Night' and *Ashraf-i makhluqāt*, 'The Most Sublime of Creations', to a certain extent follow a new track and will therefore be dealt with more thoroughly in a following chapter (pp. 408–9).

Subjects taken from Persian history have always been popular with prose-writers. Apart from artistic aims, they serve the patriotic purpose of firing the national pride by recalling the country's glorious past.

Among the best works of this kind are the historical novels of Ḥasan-Khān Nuṣratu'l-vizāra Badī', which clearly show that the Persian novel is gradually throwing off European influence and starting to fashion its own forms. Badī' wrote two novels: *Dāstān-i bāstān yā Sargudhasht-i Kūrūsh* 'An old Legend or The History of Cyrus', and *Shamsu'd-dīn u Kumar*. The former appeared in Tehran in 1340/1921. The story takes place, as do the earlier novels of Shaykh Mūsā (pp. 371–2), at the time of the Achaemenids. Unlike the latter, who displayed his knowledge of European historians by introducing passages from their works into the plots of his own novels, Badī' studied Western European sources solely to gain a thorough knowledge of the facts. This proved useful to his work. His picture of the time has considerable plasticity and he seldom introduces anachronisms. The plot is associated with native tradition through the lovers Bīzhan and Manīzha, well-known from Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*. The novels ends, as does Shaykh Mūsā's, with the conquest of Babylon. There can hardly be any question of mutual influence. The similarity lies rather in the endeavour at that time to arouse patriotic feeling by spreading a knowledge of Persia's past. Apart from this tendency, the two works have little in common. Badī's work does not possess the sensational adventurousness by which Shaykh Mūsā shows his dependence on Dumas. His novel is well constructed and for the first time the personages are distinguished by their way of speech. Nor is his characterisation limited to a description of the outward appearance of his heroes. The author attempts to demonstrate the correct principles of government in the person of Cyrus, whom he depicts as an ideal ruler, as regards both his personal qualities and his social and economic opinions. Cyrus is taught the sound basic principles of administration by his father; he is urged to encourage his subjects to cultivate handicrafts, but not to oppose free trading and to ensure that imports do not exceed exports, etc.<sup>45</sup>

A curious work, which openly rejects all European influences (although the author cannot completely evade them in prose; the vocabulary too, particularly in its military terminology, contains many europeanisms) is 'Alī Aṣghar Sharīf's *Khūn-bahā-i*



*Irān*, 'The Blood Feud of Iran', published in Tehran in 1345/1926. The story takes place in the recent past, during the First World War. It describes the occupation of the country, the founding of the Home Army, the desperate battles and the complete political breakdown. The central figures are two young patriots, the lovers Īraj and Mihrangīz, besides whom there is a group of well-drawn subsidiary characters. Less successful are the last chapters of the novel, in which we find passages quoted verbatim from Persian and foreign journals and diplomatic documents, so that the thread of the story is lost. Sharīf also wrote another successful novel, *Maktab-i 'ishq*, 'The School for Love'. He is a deeply pious Shī'ite Moslem and this, together with strong conservatism and a rejection of everything European, permeates his whole work. His opposition to the radical europeanisation of the country is in fact explained by this attitude.

The literary output of Raḥīm-zāda Ṣafavī betrays the scholarly accuracy of a philologist and historian. He intended to relate the whole history of his country in novels but to date has only completed a small part of it. From his book *Dāstān-i Shahr-bānū*, 'The Legend of Shahr-bānū' (the second edition appeared in Tehran in 1948-9; the subject was taken from the period of the collapse of the Sasanian kingdom) it is possible to trace the development of the novel at that time, for this one was written ten years after Ṣan'atī-zāda (p. 370) had handled the same theme. Above all it is based on a reliable knowledge of historical facts, from the social structure and the position of women in contemporary society to architecture and popular customs and habits. This knowledge is passed on to the reader not by copious references to historical works and documents, as was frequently the case in some previous novels, but by detailed and faithful descriptions of the background to the plot. The characters show individuality and their manner of speech is appropriate to their social rank. Only the psychological development of the heroes and the motivation of their actions still remain weak. The style of the novel is straightforward and simple. In contrast to Ṣan'atī-zāda, the optimistic ending of the work is particularly effective. The beautiful Sasanian daughter, Shahr-bānū, the heroine of the novel, marries 'Alī's son Ḥusayn. In this way, on the ruins of the disintegrated Middle Iranian kingdom, the illustrious past is joined to the promise of the future.<sup>46</sup> Well versed as he is in history, the author recognises the power of survival of Persian culture, which in the long run has always proved superior to all invaders of Iran.

Also during the 'thirties there appeared two novels by the poet Ḥaydar 'Alī Kamālī. He was a manual worker and illiterate up to the age of 23. Having taught himself to read and write, he soon began to compose poems, which were considered very promising. At the end of the 19th century he went to Tehran, where he devoted himself mainly to business, and started a teahouse that became the meeting place for Tehran's literary and journalistic circles. As a member of the democratic wing, he took part in the political life of his time.

Kamālī's *divān* was published in Istanbul in 1922. It cannot, however, be numbered

among the most outstanding literary works because the author wrote too easily and too fast and imitated the most diverse styles and patterns. Yet Kamālī was the author of several successful historical novels and must be counted among the innovators. His first novel, *Mazālim-i Turkān-Khātūn*, 'Tyranny of Turkan-Khatun', bears the name of the famous Queen-Regent at the time of the Mongol invasion of Iran; it appeared in Tehran in 1348/1929–30. A fine style and an exciting plot, which is dramatically well constructed without deteriorating into sensationalism, together with well-drawn characters, are merits of the first as well as of the second of the poet's works. The second novel appeared two years after the first, also in Tehran. Its title *Lāzīkā*, 'Colchis', indicates that the story is placed at the time of the struggles between the Sasanians and the Romans in the former province of Colchis on the shores of the Black Sea. The historical side is true to fact, while a completely new feature in the construction is formed by the main plot in which, contrary to custom, not the sovereign's court and its members, but the patriotic gentry is placed in the foreground.<sup>47</sup> This concept is entirely in keeping with the new militant patriotism, which also constitutes the underlying idea of the work. The fact, too, that the border-line between patriotism and chauvinism is often not drawn with any precision is a reflection of the contemporary ideological situation.

Another good prose writer of this epoch is Zaynu'l-Ābidīn Mu'taman, with his historical novel *Āshyāna-i 'Uqāb*, 'Eagle's Nest'. This work was written between 1352–8/1933–9 and describes the rivalry between the Saljuq vizier Nizāmu'l-mulk and the chief of the Assassins, Ḥasan Sabbāh. In ideological respects, the author is on the side of the oppressed and proclaims the necessity of freeing the enslaved classes in human society. For the first time in the history of the Persian historical novel, Mu'taman was not satisfied with describing court circles – which until then had been depicted with idealistic patriotic pathos – but placed them within the framework of the whole social set-up.<sup>48</sup>

A literary experiment of quite unique character is the novel *'Ishq u adab*, 'Love and Literature', in which the president of the Literary Society in Hamadan, Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad-Khān Āzād, made an attempt at a biography of the poet Firdausī in the form of a novel. It appeared in Tehran in 1353/1934 (ten years later the same material was used by H. Mīrzā Sālūr in his novel *Juft-i pāk*).

During this interesting experimental period works also occur which show no trace of artistic 'research'. The two novels of Yaḥyā Qarīb, *Ya'qūb-i Layth* (1936) and *Khūn-i Siyāvush* (1937), make the impression that their author has slept through almost twenty years of development. We can discern a palpable ignorance of facts and numerous anachronisms, the characters are either blameless or thoroughly vicious. Yet they contain a strange experiment: the author interweaves a number of verses, partly quotations from the *Shāh-nāma*, partly his own.<sup>49</sup> It is an experiment which not only upsets the development of the plot but which, in view of the situation of Persian prose at the time, has the effect of an almost hybrid anachronism. Another work, the

novel 'Arūs-i Mādī, 'The Bride of the Medes' (Tehran 1349/1930) by the Persian translator of Sienkiewicz' *Quo Vadis?*, 'Abbās Aryān Pūr-i Kāshānī, is patently inferior in quality in view of its lack both of artistic mastery and historical accuracy, its style and its language. The main development in Persian belles-lettres tends more and more towards the shorter forms, tales and short stories; the future will show whether this has any connection with the general inclination towards shorter forms in world literature or whether it is a purely Persian phenomenon. The short story is also the best literary mirror of contemporary events, with the problems and uncertainties to which they give rise. After the successful début of Jamāl-zāda, there appeared during the 'thirties Ṣ. Hidāyat (pp. 410-2), with his fantastic and introspective tales, B. 'Alavī, whose tragic, shipwrecked lives are seen from a Freudian psycho-analytical viewpoint (pp. 414-5); later Ṣ. Chūbak (p. 415), and others, who even in their first works follow the new trends in Persian prose.

## NOTES

1. Cf. Yāsīmī, *op. cit.*, 207; *Armaghān*, 17 (1315), 60.
2. Shafaq, *op. cit.*, 417 *et seq.*
3. Nafīsī, *Shāh-kārḥā*, is of the opinion that in his *novella* Jamāl-zāda only set the crown on what his predecessors, Tālibūf and Dihkhudā, had begun.
4. These have been published in several collections, such as *Tarānahā-i millī*, Tehran 1310; *Afsānahā-i rustā'i-i Irān*, Tehran 1332; *Haftad tarānahā-i rustā'i-i Irān*, Tehran n.d.
5. Under the title *Kitāb-i amthāl u ḥikam*, Tehran n.d.
6. *Majma'u'l-amthāl*, Tehran n.d.
7. E.g., *Afsānahā-i kuhan*, Tehran 1336.
8. Cf. Massé, *REI*, A (1938), 107-8.
9. *REI*, 1938, 261 *et seq.*
10. Cf. Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 139 *et seq.*
11. On the history of this review, see F. Machalski, 'Vaḥid Dastgirdī and his Armaghān', *Folia Orientalia*, 4 (1962), 81-104.
12. Cf. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān*..., II, 363 *et seq.*
13. For more detailed information cf. Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 167.
14. E.g. *Namakdān*, edited from 1929 by A. Kasravī Tabrizī.
15. Cf. Osmanova, *KS*, 27 (1958), 68.
16. See Browne, *LHP*, IV, 490.
17. For more detailed information see E. Rossi, *OM*, 23 (1943), 208 *et seq.* For an analysis of Iraj's work cf. Z.N. Vorozheykina, *Iraj Mirza*, Moscow 1961.
18. More on this: Yaukacheva, *KS*, 27 (1958), 45 *et seq.*
19. *KS*, 17 (1955), 76, 77.
20. Cf. Browne, *Press and Poetry*..., XVIII.
21. See a note in Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 381.
22. More on this cf. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān*..., I, 52.
23. See Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 116 *et seq.*

24. *Folia Orientalia*, I (1959), 66 *et seq.*
25. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān...*, I, 38 *et seq.*, II, 92 *et seq.*, and others.
26. Cf. J. Rypka, 'Parvīn, novodobá básnířka perská', *Český časopis filologický*, I (1943), 187 *et seq.*
27. Cf. Bertel's, *Ocherk*, 163.
28. Cf. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān...*, II, 311 *et seq.*
29. More on this, Shafaq 'Patriotic poetry', *MEJ*, 1952,6, 425 *et seq.*
30. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān...*, II, 323; *Divān-i Farrukhī*, II *et seq.*
31. *Divān-i Farrukhī – Ghazaliyyāt va qasā'id va qīṭa'āt va rubā'īyyāt bā taṣhīḥ va muqaddima dar sharḥ va aḥvāl-i shā'ir ba qalam-i Husayn-i Makki*, Tehran 1328; for an analysis of the work, cf. Osmanova, *KS*, 27 (1958), 67 *et seq.*
32. Cf. *Ocherk*, 114.
33. Ishaque, *Sukhanvarān...*, I, 33 *et seq.*
34. On this see also 'Alavī, *Das Land der Rosen und Nachtigallen*, 110 *et seq.*
35. Cf. Amū Husayn 'Alī, *Introduction*; Vasighī, *Jamāl-zāda*, 26.
36. See Browne, *Press and Poetry*, 70; *Yaghmā*, (1933).
37. *Fārsi shakar ast*, 'Persian is Sugar'; *Rajul-i siyāsī*, 'The Politician'; *Dūsti-i khāla Khirsa*, 'The Friendship of Uncle Bruin'; *Dard-i dil-i Mulla Qurbān-'Alī*, 'The Troubles of Mullah Qurban Ali'; *Bīla dīg – bīla chukundar*, 'Every man to his deserts'; *Vilānu'd-daula*, 'Loafer of the Empire'.
38. As these language peculiarities were incomprehensible to the average educated Persian, the author appended a Glossary of these terms – 'Kalimāt-i 'avāmmāna' – to the book.
39. Vasighī, *op. cit.*, 26; Borecký, *MEJ*, 7 (1953), 238, rightly comments that this book presumes an extensive knowledge of Shi'ite theology on the part of the reader.
40. Cf. Borecký, *op. cit.*, 238.
41. For a more comprehensive review of the work, see B. 'Alavī, in *OLZ*, 54 (1959), 52 *et seq.*; Komissarov, *SV*, 3 (1958), sees in *Jamāl-zāda* a certain bias towards naturalism.
42. Further see Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 154 *et seq.*
43. A. A. Khudādāda is the author of a work of the same name; he described the wretched life in the Iranian countryside.
44. Further see Bertel's, *Ocherk*, 149 *et seq.*; Chaykin, *Ocherk*, 128 *et seq.*
45. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 54.
46. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 72 *et seq.*
47. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 70 *et seq.*
48. Zaynu'l-'Ābidin is also a good theorist in his work *Shi'r va adab-i fārsī*; cf. Machalski, *Folia Orientalia*, I (1959), 154 *et seq.* and 3 (1962), 335 *et seq.*
49. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 127 *et seq.*

## IV. THE MAIN LITERARY TRENDS AFTER 1941

In the middle of the Second World War, in the autumn of 1941, Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī was obliged to abdicate in favour of his son, Muḥammad Riḍā (p. 359). Immediately after this the territory of Iran was occupied by British and Soviet armed forces; the occupation, however, had a very different character from that of the First World War, so that in cultural life too democratic tendencies soon began to make themselves felt. New world-orientated branches of science were cultivated; the number of translations from western literature increased; Persian literary production broadened its horizons and obtained greater opportunities for publication, thanks to the better organisation of the publishing trade; and later, when all literary output was systematically documented, the situation was ripe for the appearance of the synoptical surveys and literary evaluations that now flowed from the pens of those engaged in the study of literature. The numerous reviews and periodicals were not confined solely to the literary field; the specific problems of every domain of cultural activity, even the youngest – cinematography, for instance – were catered for in special magazines.

The efforts aiming at a general modernisation of the language, which already with the founding of the Farhangistān-i Īrān in 1935 acquired an official character, were extended more and more to the domain of a scientific language. The reviews of the literary faculties of the universities (e.g. those of Tehran, Tabriz and others, p. 402) reflect this activity in articles by the foremost literary historians and in good translations of foreign scientific studies (following the initiator, 'A. Furūghī<sup>1</sup>, the most notable names associated with these trends are M. Qazvīnī, Q. Ghanī, Badī'ū'z-zamān, P. N. Khānlari, R. Yāsīmī, S. Nafīsī and others). And even in articles not directly connected with literary research, where linguistic considerations came naturally less to the foreground, a distinct advance is to be observed in the direction of simplification and clarity of expression.

An event of great importance for Iranian literary production and its representatives, from the artistic point of view as well as from a purely practical standpoint, was the

First Congress of Iranian Writers held in 1946. The publication reporting its sessions<sup>2</sup> gives a good survey of modern literature up to the 1940's, and from the Congress resolutions it is clear that the artists who adopted them had as their aim above all the dissemination of the ideas of enlightened humanism and peaceful co-operation.

Translation from foreign literatures began to extend its range; in the early phase of this activity, directed at that time by Dāru'l-funūn (p. 322), the chief emphasis was laid on its educative function. Now many other considerations became operative – aesthetic, social, political and commercial – in determining the choice; a conscious endeavour to supplement the home book market with the important works of world literature was not, however, as yet evident. On the contrary, first place as regards number was occupied in the field of translated fiction by detective and crime novels (*dāstān-i pūlisī va jinā'ī*) which, from the time more accurate data relating to book production became available, comprise more than half (about 60 %) of all translations.<sup>3</sup> Of the more serious works, the first place is occupied by French literature, followed by English and American, Russian, German and, only occasionally, others (e.g. Karel Čapek, Julius Fučík from Czech and H. Sienkiewicz from Polish literature). Here too selection was more a matter of chance than of a guided cultural policy (Rolland's *Jean-Christophe*, the exotic novels of Claude Farrère, Hemingway and Longfellow, F. Sagan, Pasternak's *Doktor Zhivago* and Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, are all to be found side by side), and if we consider that in the world production of books Iran is near the bottom of the list<sup>4</sup>, it is evident how much still remains to be done in this field. A similar situation exists in regard to the artistic fidelity of the translations, which show a very uneven level. Considerably better, both in respect of choice and of the quality of translation, are those which appear in literary periodicals.<sup>5</sup>

A bias towards stories of adventure of a lighter genre also continues to be a feature of original writing. Many novels show a strong predilection for exciting plots, often regardless of the bounds of possibility, sickly sentimental stories from the lives of prostitutes, illicit loves, illegitimate children, murders and suicides – not seldom under the serious title of an historical or social novel (p. 406). Nevertheless, there are also works which show a real advance, both in their wider thematic range and in their artistic value.<sup>6</sup>

New themes derive mainly from a marked effort to comprehend contemporary social reality in all its complexity, in attempts to elucidate various social problems arising out of changes in the social and economic structure of the country: modern woman and her status in life and society; the clash between traditional ways of thought and life and those of western civilisation, which permeates every page; the problems of youth and its upbringing; changes in the life of the Iranian countryside; the condition of the lowest social classes, etc.<sup>7</sup> In the treatment of historical themes a new light is shed upon certain periods and certain personalities in Iranian history, even the most recent.

The manner in which these themes are approached and artistically worked out naturally depends very much on the author's view of the world and, inseparable from his

philosophical attitude, also on his conception of the writer's role in national life. In the period of the Constitution the image of the writer-awakener, the teacher of the nation became deeply impressed in the general consciousness. This conception of the writer's role often comes out very clearly in contemporary prose. It appears in novels and short stories with historical themes (sometimes in the somewhat strained seeking after analogies between situations in the nation's past and the present) and still more markedly in prose with social and socially critical themes. A preacher's moralising is sometimes coloured with a superficial sentimentality, which the average western reader would look upon as an artistic shortcoming, whereas the Persian critic sees it with quite different eyes: not only does he completely identify himself with the writer's educational role, but he is in this respect often unconsciously influenced by the distinguished tradition of native didactic poetry. These tendencies do not, however, affect all modern prose. In it we find – though in much smaller measure – a stream more or less opposed to the first, and linking up to a certain extent with Western European literary-philosophical thought: in the works representing this trend the central theme is modern man, his individual experience, feelings and mental world, his confrontation with his fellow-beings, the world around him, the fact of death. These problems conform in the main with modern existentialistic thought, correspond to some extent with the native tradition of Šūfī poetry and have reached the highest degree of artistic mastery in the works of Š. Hidāyat (p. 410).

Persian prose-writers produce novels, short stories, reports, etc. The medium of the main line of artistic development in prose would seem to be the shorter prose forms.<sup>8</sup> In the novel a firm structure, a logically worked-out development in the course of the plot, and other requirements of the genre as a literary form, are so far the weaker side of modern prose. Similarly, as regards language the short story is more enterprising and inventive than the novel. Its literary language shows a greater approximation to the spoken language, and it enriches its vocabulary from the fund of old, forgotten words, for centuries supplanted by Arabic expressions, and then, following in the footsteps of Jamāl-zāda's innovation, by the use of folk turns of phrase and of expressions taken over from dialect and slang. Differentiation of character, social or occupational status by means of linguistic elements in the dialogue, which at the beginnings of modern prose was something quite unprecedented, later becomes a matter of course in good prose-writing.

If, in accordance with Professor Khānlārī, we have designated the period of modern Persian literature 'an Age of Prose', that is not to say that the Persians have by any means lost their innate love of poetry. Despite all the seeking after new forms and all the experimentation of the literati, there is still alive in all classes of the nation a knowledge of classical poetry and the tendency to compose poems in the traditional forms. With this fact is connected a remarkable Iranian peculiarity: in anthologies of poetry, even today, there still appear the names of contemporary scholars and scientists, university professors, statesmen, lawyers and doctors, who contribute as poets to

the literary life of their country. The curious fact, too, that this culturally very admirable trait may and does operate as a brake on every effort at revolutionary changes in the art of poetry has been pointed out above (p. 389); and so modern poetry is still in a much more difficult situation than prose, which is not bound by any such universally recognised tradition.<sup>9</sup> This also explains why it is that almost fifty years after the appearance of the first theoretically founded programmes and manifestos, announcing the discarding of the classical canon (p. 378 *et seq.*), much verse is still written (and assiduously read) in the old style.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these circumstances, which unfortunately also prevailed in the domain of literary criticism, the stream of modern poetry has grown in breadth and strength. This was natural if only because changing life itself, in face of all conservative opposition, called for modern poetical expression. For lack of a better term we have called this modernity Persian romanticism, because in a number of basic points its programme is in agreement with European romanticism: such are a manifest turning away from the objective intellectual poetry of classicism and its abstract rational ideal of beauty, and protest against the formalistic view of poetry as expressed by Ibn Khaldūn, who declared that the art of writing poetry is concerned only with words and not with thoughts; a passionate striving to seize the reality of life and nature; a love for folk-art, music, poetry; finally, the search for individual expression of the feelings and emotions of one's inner life. A deeper analysis of certain of the characteristic traits of modern Persian poetry in this sense would perhaps help to explain why its exponents, when they seek their models in European poetry, incline more towards the romantic poets (Hugo, Vigny, Lamartine, Musset, and others) than to those representing the more objective and formalistic trends of a later time.

As in prose, we find among representatives of the modern stream in Persian poetry several who follow the course taken by left-wing literature of the present day, the course of socialist realism, with stress on its basic component: the creation for the reader of a human and social ideal. But since here the educative and enlightening role that is the characteristic feature of this poetry is often combined with the Iranian love of didactic verse, the cumulative effect is unfortunately closer to rhymed advertisement with a copy-book tendentiousness than to true poetry.

In studies on modern Persian literature, of which there are still too few, we come across attempts at a classification of the trends in contemporary poetry. The first to do so was the Indian literary historian, M. Ishaque, in his monograph on the 1930's, in which from the point of view of content and form he divided the poets into three main groups: those writing verses classical in form and content; those preserving the old form, but filling it with topical themes; and lastly those who, both as regards subject-matter and form, are non-traditional.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, 'A. A. Hikmat, in the publication issued on the occasion of the First Congress of Iranian Writers, deals with this question and supplements Ishaque's classification with a more detailed division according to subject-matter.<sup>11</sup> More recently, M. Ṭabāṭabā'i bases his first two groups



on considerations of style (form), while in determining others he applies the criteria of content (theme).<sup>12</sup> In the present article an endeavour has been made to find a philosophical basis for contemporary poetical trends, for we believe that in such a basis are implicit the different points of departure from which these trends start out to shape reality in their verse; the three main streams from which they derive are discussed more fully in the chapter on poetry.

#### A. IMPORTANT LITERARY AND CULTURAL PERIODICALS OF RECENT YEARS

Even though after Riḍā Shāh's abdication the daily press quickly expanded and numerically fell little short of the peak reached during the period of the Constitution, it no longer possessed the national revivalist character as far as collaboration with contemporary poets was concerned, nor was it any longer the poetical chronicle of the time, as it had been then. Literature had other interests and stimuli besides political ideas and events and we learn of its life from special periodicals and from literary and art reviews.

Continuing along the lines of a well-founded tradition, which conscientiously guarded the classical heritage and barred all exaggerated modernist eccentricities, the review *Armaghān*, after the death of its founder, the literary scholar and poet, Vahīd Dastgirdī (d. 1942), preserved its character under the editorship of Vahīd's son, Nasīm. The occasionally over-conservative character of the periodical is counterbalanced by several studies on classical poetry, based on new literary-historical finds and manuscript sources.

A group of literary modernists founded the review *Sukhan*, 'The Word', in 1322 sh., with P. N. Khānlari as chief editor. *Sukhan* publishes the latest output of modern poets and prose-writers, including the work of the best – Š. Hidāyat, M. 'A. Jamāl-zāda, Š. Chūbak, B. 'Alavī, M. Farzād and others. Only rarely does it publish less well known or newly discovered verses of the classics, as in *Armaghān*. *Sukhan* devotes considerable space to translations from western literatures, notably modern work, well selected and often admirably interpreted (such as translations of F. Kafka by Š. Hidāyat). In the domain of literary theory, there are essays on the problems of modern Persian literature (especially poetry and numerous articles of a programmatic character by the chief editor), as well as informative studies taken from the histories of western literatures and articles on other branches of the arts, as for instance contributions on occidental painting, etc. Speaking generally we may characterise this review as one of the most representative of that section of the Persian intelligentsia that aims at a world orientation of Persian culture.

Its junior by five years is the review *Yaghmā*, 'Spoil', the first volume of which came out in 1327 *sh.* The title is an allusion to the name of the first Persian satirist of the preceding century, whose grandson Yaghmā'i, a poet, is also the chief editor of the magazine. Its sub-title – *adabī*, 'ilmī, ta'rīkhī, ijtimā'i' ('On literature, science, history, and sociology') – indicates that its wide range of interest is extended to scientific rather than to artistic problems. It provides the general public with information on the situation in modern science and deals with questions of modern sociology, ethnography, linguistics, etc. (Here, for instance, appeared a sharp criticism of western Iranian studies, especially in respect of lexicography, from the pen of Persian philologists.) Among the contributors to the review are such well-known names as R. Shafaq, M. Mīnuvī, L. Šūratgar, Mahdī Ḥamīdī, Īraj Afshār and others.

Occasionally modern literary work appears in the pages of scholarly journals, such as those of the Literary Faculties of the Universities in Tehran and Tabriz, *Majalla-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tihrān* and *Nashriyya-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabriz* respectively, that are otherwise devoted to the problems of the humanities in the works of Iranian and foreign scholars; or of *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, 'The Culture of Iran', which deals mainly with linguistic questions, but also with matters of wider cultural interest.

The official literary periodical of the Tūda Party was the literary-aesthetic review *Mardum*, 'The People', which first came out in 1325 *sh.* under the editorship of M. Rādmanish. Its leading journalist was the politician and poet, I. Ṭabarī (p. 405). Among its poet-contributors were M. Shaybānī, Nīmā Yūshij, Sāya, B. 'Alavī, as well as many left-wing poets of the youngest generation. In its theoretical articles, *Mardum* acquainted its readers with the Marxist view of problems of literature and art (as, for instance, in the articles contributed by M. Shakī on Marxist aesthetics, and in literary studies by I. Ṭabarī).

The excellent literary magazine *Mihr*, 'The Sun', has had as its editor since its foundation Īraj Afshār, noted amongst other things for his valuable work in the field of bibliographical documentation of contemporary literary production in Iran. *Yādgār*, 'Memorial', founded by 'A. Iqbāl Āshtiyānī (d. 1334 *sh.*), is devoted not only to literature but also to historical studies. *Āyanda*, 'The Future', edited by Mahmūd Afshār, deals with social and political questions.

The Iranian Committee of the World Peace Council brings out a magazine to which especially the younger progressive generation of Iranian writers contributes; here we may read translations of the works of the foremost world fighters for peace, such as L. Aragon, Ilya Ehrenburg and others, as well as theoretical studies aimed at propagating peaceful collaboration among the nations. The title of the periodical was originally *Kabūtar-i šulh*, 'The Dove of Peace', later *Payk-i šulh*, 'The Messenger of Peace'. In connection with the magazine a series of translations was initiated, with a publishing programme of titles from world literature that have contributed to the struggle for peace and social progress. In this edition have been published, for instance, Gorky's *Mother*, Barbusse's *The Fire*, Fučík's *Report from the Gallows* and others.

## PERSIAN LITERATURE OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The literary organ of the Society of Iranian-Soviet Friendship, entitled originally *Payām-i nau*, later, *Payām-i navîn*, gives priority to the work of writers who are interested in topical problems of a social character and aim to solve them in the spirit of a progressive socialist ideology (B. 'Alavī, Bihādhīn, S. Nafīsī, and others); here, too, we find studies in literary criticism, while a particularly valuable contribution to Iranian letters are good translations of Russian classics and of Soviet literature.<sup>13</sup>

## REVIEWS FROM OTHER SPHERES OF CULTURE

We also find work of contemporary poets and writers in journals dealing with other aspects of culture, for instance in *Naqsh u nigār*, 'Picture and Print', *Numāyish*, 'The Theatre', *Sīnimā va zindagī*, 'The Cinema and Life', *Majalla-i mūsīqī*, 'Musical Review' *Mardum-shināsī*, 'Anthropology', and in periodicals devoted to ethnographical questions, folk-art, etc.

The number of magazines for women is growing and their level is improving thanks to the collaboration of members of the young generation of Iranian women, brought up in ideas of freedom and democracy. *Bīdārī-i mā*, 'Our Awakening', *Tashkīlāt-i zanān*, 'Organisation of Women', *Ālam-i nisvān*, 'Women's World' are some of the titles of these reviews, which are reminiscent of the early phases of the European emancipation of women.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL JOURNALS

With the growth in the volume of literary production, the need arises for a systematic documentation. The first attempt at such was made in 1332 *sh.* by Īraj Afshār in a bibliography entitled *Kitāb-shināsī-i Irān*. Two years later this task was taken over by the Publishers' Association in the bibliographical monthly *Kitābhā-i māh*, 'Books of the Month', and though this monthly at the same time serves the purposes of advertisement and propaganda, it is nevertheless a valuable aid for the survey it gives of contemporary literary life.<sup>14</sup> Occasionally the journal publishes reviews or readers' opinions, more comprehensive surveys of the book market in some special domain (children's literature, for example), arranges or gives information about literary competitions, and so on. Finally, in 1336 *sh.*, a bibliographical bulletin began to appear under the title *Rāhnamā-i kitāb*, 'A Guide to Books', edited by Ī. Afshār. Each number contains in its close on 200 pages a critical bibliography of all the new books published, classified according to subject-matter; included are also articles of a programmatic character, public opinion polls (for instance, on the problem of textbooks), and finally full reviews – taking up, as a rule, almost half the issue – of more important publications in the domains of scientific works and belles-lettres by native authors, and also

of books of interest for the Iranian reading public published abroad. The bulletin numbers among its contributors the names of Iran's foremost scientific and literary personalities. It further confirms the importance of this publication, which will undoubtedly become the chief source of information on the book market.

## B. BRIEF SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN POETRY

Following the division into the three main currents indicated above (p. 400), we find in present-day Persian poetry first of all a group of poets who carry on the classical tradition of lyrico-philosophical verse. Their bias is towards the so-called 'eternal' problems of philosophy, ethics and love, and they write verse on these themes in the cool spheres of abstract rhetoric. This poetry is of an expressly imitative and formalistic character and is doomed, as a glasshouse plant, to perish. The poets themselves, who are upholders of the classicising tendency, realise this—whence the attempts at rejuvenation by giving artistic expression to their own experiences and feelings, of conjuring up the moods of Nature, and so on. This is true, however, only of the best of them, of those whose passion for classical poetry has not stifled their own creative powers. Such are Rashīd Yāsīmī<sup>15</sup>, whose reputation is founded on his reflective lyrical poetry, Mahdī Ḥamīdī<sup>16</sup>, another lyric poet, the sovereign master of the *ghazal*, M. Ḥ. Shahriyār of Tabriz<sup>17</sup>, and one of the younger generation of classicists, Rāhī Mu'āyirī, to mention a few.

Another trend is represented by political poetry, mostly strongly tendentious, whether the didactic 'point' rouses to revolution or patriotism, or to criticism of existing conditions. It arose out of the needs of the revolutionary epoch; since then it has been a prominent component of Persian poetry and the mirror of a certain aspect of the most recent national history, namely that of its unceasing efforts to improve living conditions. In periods when these efforts were most intense almost all contemporary poets wrote political poetry (p. 363); in the case of some it formed then the main body of their work.<sup>18</sup> Representative of this trend is a growing group of poet-socialists, whose forerunners were Farrukhī Yazdī (p. 387) and A. Q. Lāhūtī (p. 376) both of whom show a characteristic attitude to the formal questions of poetry, which they consider a matter of secondary importance — a trait distinguishing this group up to the present day. One of their number, in respect of his poetry, is the journalist and sometime editor (1951–53) of *Chalangar*, 'The Smith', M. 'A. Afrāshta (d. 1958), also well known as the author of short prose forms. As a poet he tends to follow the satirical line in Persian political verse. His popularity owes not a little to his excellent knowledge of pithy folk-expressions, the use of which enables his militant and critical verses to reach a wide public. Another journalist (the combination of journalism and poetry is

as typical of these poets as it ever was), the chief editor of the review *Mardum* (p. 402), I. Ṭabarī – one of B. 'Alavī's 53 men – engages in literary criticism, writes short stories with social themes, and political poetry which Shoytov has aptly characterised in the following words: "His programme poems show that Ṭabarī sees in his poetry above all a weapon in the struggle of his nation to throw off the yoke of dependence."<sup>19</sup> To a progressive, militant poetry the poet Sāya makes his way from a romantic compassionate view of the world and its suffering<sup>20</sup>; a similar path is followed in her verse by the poetess Zhāla Sulṭānī. Of the younger generation belonging to this group we may mention here the poets Daryā and 'Alī Jalālī.<sup>21</sup>

The third group of modernist poets, pioneers of a new style and of free verse, has to a greater extent than the two previous groups the character of a school. Its leader was the resolute opponent of the conservators of classicism, Nīmā Yūshij (1895–1960). At one time a friend of and collaborator with the poet 'Ishqī on the review *Qarn-i bīstum* (p. 386), he inclined in his early work as a poet to the romantic school of European poetry (for instance, in his longer poem *Afsāna*, 'Romance', written in the early twenties), but his erotic lyrics lacked primary emotional experience. Even then, however, his artistic programme contained the striving after a new poetical form, essentially free verse grouped in strophic forms, with irregular rhymes or unrhymed; often in the course of a single poem Nīmā changes the rhythmic pattern and the strophic structure (cf. 'Ishqī), to the disgust of conservative readers and critics. In the period of his artistic maturity Nīmā achieved a notable individuality of expression in his nature (the best!), love and social lyrics. Thanks to his endeavours to create a new style, which he propagated in a number of theoretical articles (published mainly in the review *Majalla-i mūsiqī*, p. 403), he had many followers, conscious and unconscious. A selection from his poetry was published in 1334 *sh.*, edited by A. Jannatī 'Atā'ī, who wrote an Introduction dealing with the poet's personality, life, and poetry; the second part of the Introduction contains something of the poet's credo and theoretical views: "The new style is really another kind of classical '*arūd*' – only the poetical method is quite the opposite: here form must adapt itself to content, and never the other way about!"<sup>22</sup>

Representatives of the younger generation of poets now making their impact in the new style are Nādir Nādirpūr (b. 1929), A. Şubḥ, Ş. Sarmad, F. Tavallālī and others. In his collection of poems entitled *Rahā* ('Liberation', published in Tehran, in 1333 *sh.*), Farīdūn Tavallālī (b. 1917) showed himself to be a good theorist of the new style: he calls for independence of classical poetry, for poetical expression of individual feeling, for a new literary expression to serve as the mirror of changing moods. In his own poetry, however, he is more successful in my view in his love and nature lyrics (for example, in the charming *Maryam*) than in his pessimistically keyed reflective verse.<sup>23</sup> Of the modernists expressly pessimistic in tone there is the lyric poet Islāmī, the Persian disciple of 'les poètes maudits'. The European-educated physician Fakhrā'ī, under his *nom de plume* Gulchīn, belongs to the group of writers who wage war on the classical

'nightingale and roses' school, in the name of his enchantment with modern western civilisation<sup>24</sup> (admiration for technical achievement is no novelty in Persian poetry, where it figured already in the last century, for example, in the poetry of the Viṣāl family (p. 331)); among contemporary writers, there are also those, however, who look upon western civilisation with disdain, and even with positive condemnation (cf. p. 407).<sup>25</sup> In connection with Gulchīn's poetical oeuvre, it would be well to call to mind the words of the poet Nādir Nādirpūr, who said that to write about the atom or aircraft did not suffice to make poetry modern – for in truth these verses of Gulchīn's on modern scientific topics are, as poetry, weaker than those which express simply, and without *ad hoc* theorising, the poet's feelings and the freshness of his talent (as in several of this wartime poems). To the modernists also belong the excellent translator of Shakespeare, Mas'ūd Farzād, together with many poets of the younger and youngest generations whose names crop up in periodicals and literary reviews. To assign them their place in the renaissance of Persian poetry will be the task of the future, which alone can provide the proper criteria.<sup>26</sup>

## C. PERSIAN PROSE AFTER 1941

### I. THE NOVEL AND THE SHORT STORY WITH HISTORICAL THEMES

Interest in the national past, stimulated by the modern conception of the nation evolved before and during the struggles for a Constitution and later by the still proud nationalism of Riḍā-Shāh – an interest often strongly tinged with romanticism – has inspired many Persian prose-writers to handle historical themes. Among the works of this kind there are very substantial differences in artistic quality; many make use of historical material merely as a pretext for giving rein to their partiality for exciting adventure and sensation. This is the case, for instance, in the novel, *'Ishq u Khūn*, 'Love and Blood', from the pen of the very prolific writer Javād Fāḍil; he draws on the time of the Constitutional struggle for his material, but the simple title indicates its true content. The same can be said of many of the other novels by this author, such as, *'Ishq u ashk*, 'Love and Tears', *Taqdīm ba tu*, 'Only for You', *Dukhtar-i hamsāya*, 'The Neighbour's Daughter', and others. Borecký notes that this author, whose novels are typically exciting stories written in a light, accessible style and with sentimental motivation, enjoys great popularity among Persian women readers.<sup>27</sup>

Not unlike these works in character are the historical novels of L. Taraqqī: the bloodstained history of the Barmacids and the horrifying revenge of their adherents in *Shabhā-i Baghdād* ('Bagdad Nights', 1952) or the earlier *'Ishq-bāzihā-i Nāṣiru'd-dīn shāh*, 'The Love-Making of Shāh Nāṣiru'd-dīn', with its unconcealed delight in lascivi-

ousness. Somewhat better is an attempt at bringing to life the time of Cyrus the Great and of his son, Cambyses, by 'A. Jalālī, under the title *Shabhā-i Bābil*, 'Babylonian Nights', composed more as a crime novel.<sup>28</sup> A much happier excursion into history is made by Jalālī in his book of historical tales, *Dāstānhā-i tā'rikhī yā hazārdāstān-i Jalālī*, 'Historical Tales or The Nightingale of Jalālī', and his two historical plays, *Shāh 'Abbās*, 'Abbās the Great' and *Rustam u Suhrāb*, are relatively successful. The latter has been translated into French.<sup>29</sup>

Ḥusayn Rukn-zāda Ādamiyyat renounced the popular adventurous plot in his book *Dilīrān-i Tangistān*, 'The Heroes of Tangistan'. He took his material from the time of the occupation of Iran during the First World War and described the uprising of the people, with the Tangistanīs at their head, against the domination of the occupying powers. As regards composition, the writer is closely linked to the novelists of the old school, for example Shaykh Mūsā (p. 371), particularly in the way he often swamps the story with long quotations from documents in an endeavour to give it an air of historical authenticity. However, Persian critics, whose views may not be disregarded in the evaluation of contemporary work, gave this novel a spontaneous welcome (these critics included S. Nafīsī, R. Šafavī, etc.) on account of its ideas, its noble patriotism, and its bitter criticism of the doubtful significance of western civilisation which "with bombs and armies oppresses the people of Asia."<sup>30</sup> This attitude on the part of the critics bears witness to the fact that the duties imposed on poets by the present situation in Iran still often go beyond mere literary and aesthetic considerations. The second novel by Ādamiyyat, *Fārs u jang-i bayna'l-milal*, 'Fars and the First World War', takes place during the First World War and exhibits the same ideas.

*Pahlavān-i Zand*, 'The Hero of the Zands', by Shīrāz-pūr Partau, also found favour with the critics. It describes the period after the death of the noble regent Karīm-Khān of the house of Zand, when his descendants Ja'far and Luṭf-'Alī (between 1785 and 1796) strove to follow his example through the enlightenment and justice of their rule over Shiraz. After a short interlude of peace in which Shiraz experienced the beginnings of an economic and cultural revival, the country was attacked by the eunuch Āqā Muḥammad, a member of the Turkish tribe of Qajar. He usurped the throne, persecuted the people with massacres of incredible barbarity and destroyed the cities that dared to come to the help of the beloved ruler Luṭf-'Alī. In this book Shīrāz-pūr Partau developed the idea of the struggle between the indigenous population and the foreign elements, the Turkish Qajars, and purposely stressed the idea of a patriotism that was ready to oppose the interference of foreigners in the internal affairs of Iran. We notice this tendency manifested again and again in ever-differing variations in conformity with the changing political situation. The eventful history of Iran, that from ancient times up to the present day has been repeatedly invaded by foreigners, does indeed offer ample evidence of this.

From an artistic viewpoint, the novel *Pahlavān-i Zand* is a good work, written in a lively style. The enthusiasm with which it was received by native critics – even 'A. Ḥ.

Maykada, in the introduction to the book, is generous in his praise – is evoked by the ideological facets mentioned above rather than by its poetic qualities; a more thorough analysis can be found in Machalski.<sup>31</sup> Shīrāz-pūr Partau also wrote a few novels of a sentimental character, such as *Kū 'isq-i man*, 'Where is my Love?', *Kām-i shīr*, 'The Revenge of the Lion', *Vidā* and other tales. Muḥammad 'Alī Khalīlī, the prose-writer, also composes novels, short stories and reportages. His novel *Dukhtar-i Kūrūsh*, 'The Daughter of Cyrus the Great', is a picture of Achaemenid times, in which the author describes the adventures of the fair heroine of the ancient Persian story on the basis of his knowledge of historical facts. The theme chosen by Khalīlī for a novel dealing with the recent past is worthy of note. Somewhat unusually, it is written in the first person. Its title is *Parīvash yā qiyām-i 1314 dar Khurāsān*, 'Parīvash or The Rising of 1314 in Khurasan'; it describes the reaction of the people in the province of Khurasan to the European innovations introduced by Rīdā-Shāh, often by force (the wearing of European hats, the removal of the veil, etc.). The rising was ruthlessly suppressed and this event gives the author scope for criticism. He accepts only those innovations that are supported and dignified by local tradition.

Several outstanding authors, of whose work we have already made mention, point the new path along which the Persian historical novel was to advance. This course is characterised, first and foremost, by an endeavour to give all-round instruction in historical matters (now it can draw on native studies in the domains of history, archaeology, etc.), by individualisation of stylistic and linguistic expression, and, finally, by emancipation from the often unfavourable influence of A. Dumas *père*. Besides the above-mentioned authors, we may include in this group Ḥ. Masrūr, with a novel which has its setting in Qazvīn under the Safavid Ṭahmāsp, published under the title *Dah nafar Qizil-bāsh*, 'The Ten Qizilbashs', M. Taqī Kardānī, whose novel *Dilīrān-i Khvārazm*, 'The Heroes of Khorezm', deals with the time of the Mongol invasion of Iran, and others.

## 2. SOCIAL THEMES IN MODERN PROSE

Another prominent group of themes engaging the interest of novelists of the present time are those connected with Iranian society and its problems, seen very often through highly critical eyes. A pioneer in this domain was Muḥammad Mas'ūd Dihātī, prose-writer and journalist, whose promising talent was prevented from developing to its full extent by his premature and violent death. His view of Tehran society is of a pessimism that sees no gleam of light or hope. In his first work, *Tafrihāt-i shab*, 'Night Entertainments', which came out already in the 1930's, his *dramatis personae* are a group of youths of different occupations (a government clerk, a printer, a shop assistant, etc.), who have no other aim in life than to earn a little money and squander it on amusements of a shady character. They are without moral scruples, cynical and without consideration for others – for them the dividing line between good and evil



is lost.<sup>32</sup> The social undercurrent of the novel is a bitter accusation of a society unable to give young people either a solid education or the prospect of a happy life. In his two later novels, Mas'ūd does not change his view. *Ashraf-i makhlūqāt*, 'The Noblest Creation', is the ironical title of a work whose rough invective is directed against the whole race of women, as being one of the chief causes of the unhappy state of modern society. *Dar talāsh-i ma'āyish*, 'Seeking a Livelihood', shows the tragedy of young people whom society is unable to provide with suitable employment.<sup>33</sup> Of Mas'ūd's last work, a critical picture of Iranian life under Riḍā-Shāh, planned to comprise several volumes, only the first was published, its title being *Gulhā-i ki dar jahannam mīrūyand*, 'Flowers of Hell', as in 1948 the author fell a victim to assassination. M. Mas'ūd has sometimes been compared to Zola for his sharp criticism of social evils.<sup>34</sup> In my opinion, however, he lacks the rationalist objectivity, the unbiased view, so characteristic of the French novelist.

A tendency to an unadorned naturalism is apparent in the prose of Abu'l-Qāsim Partav-i A'zam. In his novel *Kāj-i kaj*, 'The Crooked Pine', he draws a sharply delineated portrait of the hero, an old hypocritical Mulla, whose twisted character is projected against the critically observed life of the holy city of Mashhad. Another of the author's works, *Mardī ki rafīq-i Asrā'il shud*, 'The Man Who Was Asrael's Friend', is a naturalistic picture of the Iranian countryside at a time when the demoralising influence of the city was beginning to reach it. In conformity with the general trend of Iranian prose, in the work of Partav-i A'zam too the short stories and sketches stand artistically higher. Meanwhile he has collected them in the book *Ādamhā-i mā*, 'Our People'. Partav also made an excursion into Iranian history in the tragedy *Bābak*. From the point of view of literary history, his pamphlet on Ṣādiq Hidāyat, entitled *Sāda*, 'The Simpleton', is not without interest.

An analyst of the emotional life of the Iranian woman of higher society might serve as a description of the novelist Muḥammad Ḥijāzī. The main core of his work comprises three novels, bearing as titles the names of their respective heroines; thus the novel *Humā* is the story of a rich and charming girl, but at the same time an unconcealed defence of europeanising education and feminine emancipation in the form of frequent eulogies on this theme inserted into the plot of the novel. The second novel, *Parīchihr*, is intended to be a psychological analysis of a young marriage relationship, the partners being an adventure-loving and flirtatious woman and a man who endures all her faithlessness and whims with a devotion that is hard to comprehend. The novel is full of pessimism and ends tragically. The third, *Zibā* (1948), is the story of an inexperienced young man of considerable promise whose acquaintance with an attractive but completely amoral and over-experienced young woman helps him to a career, but is at the same time a source of much unpleasantness and personal suffering.<sup>35</sup> This work, too, is permeated by a pessimistic outlook on contemporary society, just as is Ḥijāzī's political comedy, *Mahmūd Āqā-rā vakīl kunīd!*, 'Make Mr. Mahmud a Deputy!', which gives an unflattering picture of political life.

Muḥammad Ḥijāzī is also a fertile writer of *novella* and the author of numerous short prose pieces in essay style. They have appeared in a number of collections: *Āyīna*, 'The Mirror', *Sāghar*, 'The Chalice', *Āhang*, 'Melody', and others. Ḥijāzī too chooses themes from the life of the lowest social classes, but he still remains the cold observer, the intellectual with an almost scientific interest in the human species, without emotional participation in the fate of his characters and without a real understanding of their world (very different in this respect from Hidāyat).<sup>36</sup> This approach, typical of higher society, undoubtedly contributes not a little to his popularity. Similarly, the author's style, aiming at poetical and witty (in the intellectual sense) expression, with a miniaturist's precision and wealth of detail, is certainly more congenial to readers who cling to tradition than the language of common speech, spiced with folk-idioms, to be found in many modern works.<sup>37</sup> Their point of view is also shared by official circles: in 1957 Ḥijāzī was awarded a State Prize for prose. We come across the view, nevertheless – and a correct one, in my opinion – that the work of Ḥijāzī is so remote from the stream of modern Persian prose that it can exercise no influence on the further development of the latter.<sup>38</sup>

A sensation in literary circles was caused by the appearance of the social novel, *Shauhar-i Āhū-Khānum*, 'Āhū-Khānum's Husband'. The author, an ex-officer, 'Alī Muḥammad Afghānī by name, published it at the end of 1961 at his own expense, and with it made his literary début. A year later the Tehran publishing house, Amīr-i Kabīr, brought out a second edition of this voluminous work of 887 pages – something quite exceptional in the literary life of Iran and itself proof of the stir the novel aroused. The main theme of the work is the situation of woman in contemporary Iranian society as portrayed in the principal characters, the master baker Sayyid Mirān and his two legitimate wives, Āhū-Khānum and Humā. Together with a number of children, these three form a common household, the complex problems of which are seen by the author in a wider social context that embraces a crowd of subsidiary characters. Many situations in the novel, which seem to us like episodes from the dark Middle Ages, are still quite common in Iranian life, as B. 'Alavī reminds us in his exhaustive review of the book<sup>39</sup>; he has certain justified criticisms to make, especially as regards the technique of its structure and the language. Other critics, however, received this novel with enthusiasm and without serious reservations.<sup>40</sup>

### 3. THE CHIEF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SHORT STORY

It has been pointed out above that modern Persian prose has achieved its highest artistic level in the shorter genres, the short story and the *novella*. Among the authors of this order of literature first place must be accorded to Š. Hidāyat, who today may be ranked among the leading figures of world literature. Šādiq Hidāyat (b. Feb. 17th, 1903, d. April 4th, 1951) came of an aristocratic family from Tehran, among his ances-

tors being the celebrated Lālā-bāshī (p. 340). He continued his studies, begun in Tehran, in Belgium and France (Paris and Besançon) from 1926 to 1930, at which time he had not yet decided what vocation to follow; he was attracted by various professions, among them that of dental surgery!<sup>41</sup> Finally, however, he decided to devote himself to literature, to which he had felt drawn at an early age. He was prepared for it by extensive reading of his native and of world literature. He acquired a special liking for the outstanding French masters of the *novella*; Stefan Zweig, Chekhov and Dostoyevski were also highly congenial to him, but his greatest favourites were Poe, Maupassant and Kafka. From their works he learnt much that was of value for his art, while they provided him with the inspiration for original work. Yet he never adopted the method of facile imitation. He himself translated several of Kafka's short stories<sup>42</sup> and prefaced his translation of the story *Gurūh-i mahkūmīn*, 'In the Penal Colony', with a comprehensive Introduction entitled 'Payām-i Kāfkā – Kafka's Message', where he elucidates his view of Franz Kafka's rôle in modern world literature (1327 sh.).<sup>43</sup>

Hidāyat wrote his first stories while studying in France; later they appeared in two volumes under the titles *Zinda ba gūr*, 'Buried Alive', and *Si qatr-i khūn*, 'Three Drops of Blood'. Belonging to his French period, too, are the historical drama *Parvīn dukhtar-i Sāsān*, 'Parvīn – Daughter of the Sasanians', and several essays of a more or less philosophical character which nevertheless overstepped the limits of belles-lettres (for instance, on the advantages of vegetarianism, a study on Man and Animals, etc.).<sup>44</sup>

After his return from Europe at the beginning of the 'thirties, Hidāyat lived in Tehran and devoted himself mainly to literary work and cultural activities in the circle of his poet friends. (Literature, however, could not provide him with a sufficient livelihood, and so he occupied various unimportant official positions.) He took part in the well-known literary group *Rab'a*, 'The Four', the three other founding members being M. Farzād, M. Mīnuvī and B. 'Alavī. Later they were joined by others – writers, artists, theatre people, theorists in the fields of art and literature. Of these, mention must be made of P. N. Khānlari, who later became chief editor of the periodical *Sukhan* (p. 401), to the founding of which the *Rab'a* group gave the impulse.

A modern conception of patriotism led Hidāyat to a thorough study of Iranian history. The Sasanian period had such a fascination for him that he mastered Pahlavi and even translated from it into Neo-Persian.<sup>45</sup> (His knowledge of the history, institutions, life and language of this period were a source on which he drew for his fiction, for instance, *Takht-i Abū-Nasr*, *Ātash-parast* and other stories.) In the years 1936–7 he carried his studies of Pahlavi and Zoroastrianism still further during his stay among the Parsees of Bombay. Two tales which he composed at this time are inspired by a purely Indian milieu, and even by Hindu philosophy, which is agreeable proof that patriotism and scholarly interests never supplanted in Hidāyat the perceptive and receptive artist.<sup>46</sup>

Another of Hidāyat's pursuits, in which he rose to be an acknowledged authority, was his interest in folklore, which included both the practical and theoretical aspects.

He collected folk-songs, wrote studies on folk-customs, Persian magic, and folklore in general.<sup>47</sup> Connected to a certain extent with his wide knowledge of this subject were his innovations in the field of language. He is a master of modern Persian, and his work is a treasury of expressions, idioms, sayings and turns of speech taken from the folk-vocabulary. It is true that these unusual linguistic elements often make the reading of Hidāyat's works more difficult; for the enriching of modern Persian prose, however, this trait is of outstanding importance; equally so is the influence it exercises on the younger generation of prose-writers.

In his choice of themes too Hidāyat introduces much that is new. For his social material he ventures into the milieu of the dregs of society and among the most untutored people: casual workers, mule-drivers, etc. Kākā Rostam, a cunning and boastful loafer, the pious Ābji-Khānum, always with an eye to her own interests, the popular hero, Dāsh Ākol, primitive Zarrin Kolāh, craving for a man who would show his love by beating her, the mule-driver, Gul Babū – a whole gallery of portraits testify to Hidāyat's literary mastery, and also to the fact that, in the milieu he explored, he sought and found not only interesting characters, but living people. And this because he, unlike many other Iranian literati, did not assume the cool aloofness of the intellectual: he knew all the sorrows and joys and hardships of these people down to the smallest detail; he was able to get inside their thoughts and to express them in their language. Not all Hidāyat's *novellae* are set in this milieu: sometimes he lets the wings of his imagination take flight into a world of Poe-like fantasy (yet never denying his Iranian poetic upbringing); at times, again, he makes excursions into the complex psychology of modern people. He describes the problems, tragedies and misery of their lives, into which dark forces inexplicably intrude, he portrays life's unfortunates and life's misfits. He can be realistic and satirical, fantastic and decadent, this "lonely seeker of the meaning of human existence, who tries to discover the nameless absolute, an artist whose endeavour it was to destroy all illusions that people have about their past, their present and their future."<sup>48</sup>

Hidāyat's quest of Man, as is evident from his poetry, was motivated by a much deeper interest than in the case of many of his literary contemporaries. What attracts him is not the newly discovered milieu or the external plot, but people's inner life, psychological stimuli and reactions in their effects on human conduct and complex mutual relations, man's commentary on the experiences of his temporal existence. This personal confession on the meaning of life he seeks both among educated people and among the least cultured; he poses his question not only to present-day man but also to the man of the past and even of the future – and almost always he finds the recurring motif of the vanity of human existence, of its uselessness and absurdity, from which the most certain escape is voluntary death.<sup>49</sup> Nor did the author himself find any other way out; in the spring of 1951 he left his native country for Paris and there, in a hotel room, he committed suicide. He is buried in the Paris cemetery of Père Lachaise.<sup>50</sup>

Sa'īd Nafīsī (1897–1966), university professor of the history of literature, devoted

himself first and foremost to scholarly activities (his numerous studies on literary history and the problems of Persian classical poetry are listed in the Bibliography). In the domain of belles-lettres, he figures as a poet, as a translator, and as a very popular writer of prose. Proof are the ever new editions of his novel, *Farangis*, a love story in the form of letters, inspired by Goethe's *Werther*, and his collection of *novellae* under the title *Sitāragān-i siyāh*, 'Black Stars', with humerous sketches from the life of people whom the changing style of life brings face to face with unexpected situations (for instance, the abolishing of the veil, clean-shaven faces instead of beards, etc.). The most recent collection of prose by this author, entitled *Māh-i Nakhshab*, 'Moon from Nakhshab', contains historical tales, the life-stories of historical personalities living in the first century after the Arab Conquest. Nafīsī, too, initiated the publication of collections of modern Persian short stories; he himself compiled one such anthology<sup>51</sup> and wrote for it a study on Persian literature, seeking among other things to find in the historical development of Persian poetry parallels with the philosophical currents in European literature.

A prose-writer who occasionally approaches Hidāyat's mastery in his social insight is Muḥammad I'timād-zāda, whose *non de plume* is Bihādhīn. He is a native of Rasht. He graduated from the Naval College in France and was formerly a naval officer attached to the Caspian fleet.<sup>52</sup> He made his entry into literature as a story-teller, with a warm interest in ordinary poor folk and their everyday lives. The psychological motivation of his prose works is sometimes forced (as, for instance, in the novel *Dukhtar-i ra'īyyat*), but the motifs of social criticism are presented in a very original and realistic fashion. Artistically valuable, too, is his expressive language, which owes much of its inspiration to the folk-idiom. In philosophical outlook, however, Bihādhīn differs very considerably from his master, Hidāyat. He is no pessimist but believes in Man and in the positive side of human nature, and also in a better future for the lowly and oppressed of whom he writes. In his stories, collected in *Parā-kanda*, 'Pêle-mêle', and *Ba-sūyi mardum*, 'Closer to the People', he often portrays people who realise that they live in the bonds of social, religious or other prejudices and find enough strength of will to throw off these bonds and fight for a better future. Sometimes the author succeeds in achieving a perfect artistic effect, as in the story *Ghurūb-i Ramadān*, 'On the Eve of Ramazān', when a young woman, at a time of the greatest anguish, pain and fear, disregards a religious injunction.

The social tendency is also underlined in a novel that Bihādhīn set in the surroundings of Rasht in his native Gilan. The time of the action is the very disturbed period at the beginning of the 1930's, and the title of the novel is *Dukhtar-i ra'īyyat*, 'The Country Girl'. The heroine is a poor girl who grew up in the family of a rich merchant where she was later to be a servant; the more she grows up the more she suffers from the coarse and degrading treatment with which she meets; finally, she is seduced by the son of the house and driven by shame to suicide. On the whole, however, the novel does not reach the artistic level of the author's tales.

Bidādhīn's most recently published work is a slim volume of poetical prose, with the title *Naqsh-i parand*, 'Drawing on Silk'. This little work – quite different from anything he has so far brought out – testifies to its author's creative maturity in its disciplined respect for form and in its individual and manly lyricism, in its view of the world and of people.

Buzurg 'Alavī, who adopted Hidāyat as a model when writing his first stories in prose, followed a directly opposite course of development to that of his friend and master, both as writer and as man. From a pessimistic view, coloured with romantic individualism, he has worked his way to a socialist outlook, from which the optimistic undertone of his later works derives.

'Alavī (b. Feb. 2nd, 1904) studied in Iran and later in Berlin, where he acquired an excellent knowledge of German. This enabled him to translate and recast in Persian verse Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*, Th. Nöldeke's study *Das Iranische Nationalepos*<sup>53</sup>, and other works. He made his literary début with a collection of six *novellae*, published under the title *Chamadān*, 'Baggage'. For his stories the author here selects exceptional people, often eccentric in character and in their predilections, and from their lives he weaves plots showing considerable invention and romantic fantasy.<sup>54</sup> Here, too, there is evidence of a deeper interest in Freudian psychoanalysis, as in the tragic relationship between a common servant and a sexually abnormal intellectual, in the story *Sarbāz-i surbī*, 'The Tin Soldier', and in the rivalry of father and son in their love for the same girl in the tale from which the collection takes its title.

As a teacher on the staff of an industrial college in Tehran, 'Alavī's convictions brought him into touch with a group of young socialists, headed by Dr Īrānī. Riḍā's police declared these persons to be dangerous to the State and arrested them in 1937, whereupon they were sentenced to four years' imprisonment, and 'Alavī along with them. His literary output at this time is represented by two works: first *Panjāh u si nafar*, 'Fifty-three People', an autobiographical description of the stories of the 53 members of the socialist group from the time of their arrest, through all the police investigations and imprisonment, to their release following Riḍā's abdication, imbued throughout with a firm belief in the victory of the socialist idea; and then the collection of short stories, *Varaq-pārahā-i zindān*, 'Notes from Prison', artistically worked-out stories of the fates of several of 'Alavī's fellow-prisoners, in which it is possible to observe the author's growth in the transition from the portraying of individual traits to the seizing of typical features of Iranian life.

After the Second World War 'Alavī remained true to his socialist convictions; he worked untiringly in cultural life for an improvement of social conditions, propagated the idea of world peace and international co-operation, contributed to progressive periodicals (p. 401), and translated anew from English (G. B. Shaw) and Russian.<sup>55</sup> As a notable member of the Iranian-Soviet Friendship Society, he made a journey to Soviet Uzbekistan, publishing his impressions and experiences in an optimistic and lightly sketched travel diary, *The Uzbeks*. This was followed shortly afterwards

(1951-2) by another collection of tales, some of which had already appeared in periodicals, more especially in *Mardum* (p. 402), under the title *Nāmahā va dāstānhā-i dīgar*, 'Letters and Other Stories'. For this collection the author was awarded the Gold Medal of the World Peace Council in the autumn of 1953. In it attention is focussed on various aspects of contemporary life in Iran, with a strongly critical bias against bureaucracy, bribery and social injustice.

'Alavī shows himself to be a cultivated artist also in his first novel, *Chashmhāyash*, 'Her Eyes'.<sup>56</sup> This is a story of a Persian painter, a convinced socialist and worker in an illegal group, and a young girl from the highest bourgeois circles. Love for the painter and the longing it inspires to get closer to him, brings her among left-wing Persian intellectuals, both at home and in Paris, where she studies. The hero does not trust her love nor her ideological conversion – and this conviction he embodies in a picture in which she is portrayed with a curiously hard expression in her eyes, hence the title of the novel. He is persecuted unceasingly for his political views, thrown into jail and finally meets a tragic end.<sup>57</sup>

In recent years 'Alavī has lived in Berlin, where he holds a professorship of Persian Language and Literature at the Humboldt University. Besides his educational work he is engaged on research on the problems of Persian literature, especially modern literature and is editor of the German translations of the works of Hidāyat, etc. He writes his new prose-works in German. Thus, his *Kämpfendes Iran* was published in Berlin in 1945. It is a picture of the recent history of Iran in which the author condemns existing conditions with a severity that sometimes borders on lack of objectivity. Altogether delightful is the book *Das Land der Rosen und der Nachtigallen* (Berlin 1957), a shrewdly observed account of the cultural and social life of the Iran of yesterday and today.

Hidāyat's legacy is most consistently inherited by Šādiq Chūbak (b. 1918, Bushir). He too began as a writer of short stories, his first collection, *Khayma-i Shab-bāzī*, 'Puppet Theatre', being very favourably received by the literary public; among the critics who expressed their praise was Hidāyat himself. In this first collection Chūbak already showed himself to be an original story-teller with an excellent feeling for his native tongue and a sharp insight into the inner motives of human behaviour, which is somewhat rare in modern Persian literature. Another of Chūbak's works is the book entitled '*Antarī ki luṭiyash murda būd*, 'The Monkey Whose Master Died', written in 1327 sh. The title tale and the second of the three stories, which bears the title *Qafas*, 'The Cage', are notable too as revealing the author's rare understanding of the world of animals and of their special psychology. Included in the second edition of this collection (Tehran 1341 sh.) is Chūbak's one-act satirical play *Tūp-i lāstikī*, 'The Rubber Ball'. It is a play about the panic of fear with which the family and close circle of friends of a high-ranking official are seized when they mistakenly suppose themselves to be under observation by the State Police. Here the author demonstrates his outstanding mastery of psychological short-circuiting. The above-mentioned edition lists

in the author's bibliography two novels, *Tangsir* and *Sang-i šabūr*. Besides his original work as a writer, Chūbak also translates from English (e.g., the excellent translation of Lewis Carroll's classics *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice through the Looking-glass*).

Another writer and journalist who has written a widely read book, which has reached many editions, is 'Alī Dashtī. This is an account of his experiences in jail, *Ayyām-i maḥbas*, 'Days in Jail'. The author has, however, gained still greater popularity with a collection of *novellae* bearing the name of one of its heroines, *Fitna*. Here he deals chiefly with the psychological state of mind of Persian women in higher circles, in whom modern education has created inner contradictions and intellectual and emotional demands which their environment can neither resolve nor satisfy. Another of Dashtī's works, *Sāya*, 'The Shadow', is again a collection of tales and essays, which critics rank among the foremost works of contemporary prose, thanks to its modern style and ideas.

Jalāl Āl-i Aḥmad started his literary career with the publication of touching stories about the victims of political persecution, the title being *Az ranjī ki mībarīm*, 'Our Suffering'.<sup>58</sup> Among other good story-tellers, to judge from their contributions to anthologies and periodicals, and in several cases on the basis of work published in book form, are 'Alī Aṣghar Ṣadr Ḥājj Sayyid Jawādī, Jamāl Shahrān, M. N. Khurāzī (under the *nom de plume* of Nūrī), 'Alī Sharī'atmadārī (under the *nom de plume* of Dārviš)<sup>59</sup>, Aḥmad Ṣādiq, I. Ṭabarī, M. Ḥamīdī, and the satirist Afrāshta.

In this section on new and recent literary works that have appeared in Iran, certain names have been mentioned, certain evaluations expressed; yet we fully realise that no enumeration is or can be complete and that any evaluation, especially that relating to the younger authors, is only of temporary validity and must depend on the course of their future artistic development. This is true of every literature of whose birth we are witnesses and which has to struggle for a new poetical shaping of reality: what counts today as absolute is tomorrow surpassed or rejected. This is pre-eminently true of Iran, where the last five decades have been an epoch of revolutionary changes reaching to the very core of the social structure and undermining its thousand-year-old traditions in all domains – including those of culture, art and literature. It is a period of struggle, uncertainty and groping, a period of unwearying search and experiment, which bears within it all the negative and positive traits of a period in which "the old is moribund and the new has not yet been born".

Summer 1967

## NOTES

1. On the occasion of the sixth anniversary of his death, cf. *Yaghmā*, I (1337), 417 *et seq.*
2. Under the title *Nukhustīn kongre-i navisandagān-i Irān* (Tehran 1325).
3. Cf. *RK*, 1338, 1–4, Bibliograph. Section *Adabiyāt-i khārijī*.



4. Cf. *SV*, 6 (1958), 158.
5. On the artistic aspect of the translation, see Rozenfel'd, L. 1958, 77.
6. A good survey of modern prose is compiled by D. S. Komissarov, in *Ocherk sovremennoy persidskoy prost* (Moscow 1960); original observations on this problem are contained in R. Gelpke's Introduction to the anthology of translation from the modern Persian *novellae*, entitled, *Persische Meistererzähler der Gegenwart* (Zürich 1961), 7-17.
7. Cf. also Nikitine, *OM*, 34 (1954), 225 *et seq.*; Yaukacheva, *KS*, 27 (1958), 42 *et seq.*; Komissarov, *KS*, 17 (1955), 53 *et seq.*, and others.
8. Avery, in *MW*, 45 (1955), 319, is of the opinion that the popularity of short prose forms derives from the traditional *Hikāyats*.
9. How shackled native criticism is by this conservatism is shown by Machalski in *Folia Orientalia*, 1 (1959), 66, and 2 (1960), 56-7.
10. *Sukhanvarān*..., 1 (4) *et seq.*
11. *Kongre-i navisandagān-i Irān*, 11-39.
12. *Indo-Iranica*, 1951, 2, 21.
13. Cf. Rozenfel'd, L. 1958, 75.
14. Cf. Zachoder, *SV*, 1957, 1, 3 *et seq.*
15. Cf. 'Dīvān-i Rashid-i Yāsīmī', *Sukhan*, 1337, 10, 103.
16. In the Introduction to the anthology, *Sovremennaya persidskaya poeziya*, 14-15, Shoytov too speaks of the realistic poems of Mahdi Ḥamīdī.
17. Cf. *Sukhan*, 1336, 7, 607-8.
18. On this see Shafaq, *MEJ*, 1952, 6, 417 *et seq.*
19. *Op cit.*, p. 13; for more detailed information on Ṭabarī see Shamukhamedov, *Ekhsan Tabari* (Tashkent 1959).
20. An analysis of Sāya's poetry is given by Klyashtorina, *KS*, 1959, 36, 33 *et seq.*
21. Other poets showing a similar trend are listed by Rizayev in his study *Revolutsionno-demokraticeskaya poeziya Irana*.
22. A. Jannatī 'Aṭā'ī, *Nīmā, Zindagānī va āthār-i ū* (Tehran 1334), 11 *et seq.*; some notes on the poetry of Nīmā Yūshij are in the article by Komissarov, *SV*, 1958, 3, 61 *et seq.*; for an analysis of the work, see F. Machalski, *Folia Orientalia*, 2 (1960), 53-82, and M. Rahman, *Ar. Or.*, 1961, 53-63.
23. Borecký, *MEJ*, 1953, 7, 241 makes mention of the prose work of Tavallālī (b. 1917), which is satirical and aphoristic in character; accessible in the collections *At-tafāsīl*, 'Definitions', and *Kārvān*, 'Caravan' (1952).
24. On this, cf. Law, *Persian Symposium*, 311.
25. On the attitude of Persian intellectuals to European civilization, cf. Nikitine, *Charisteria Orientalia Ioanni Rypka*, 210 *et seq.*
26. An excellent small anthology of the poets of the new style is that compiled by Parviz Dāryūsh, and published under the title *Numūnahā-i shi'r-i āzād* 'Specimens of Poetry in Free Verse' (Tehran 1340 *sh.*); a contribution to a knowledge of contemporary Persian lyrical poetry of the old and the new style is the Soviet anthology compiled by V. Klyashtorina and Dj. Dorri, *Sovremennaya persidskaya lirika* (Moscow 1961), with an authoritative Introduction by the two authors.
27. *Op. cit.*, 242.
28. A number of other prose-works of a similar literary standard are enumerated by Borecký, *op. cit.*, 242 *et seq.*
29. For more detailed information on Jalālī, see Machalski, *Historyczna powieść*, 93 *et seq.*
30. For an analysis of this novel see Machalski, *Historyczna powieść* p. 136.
31. *Historyczna powieść*, 112 *et seq.*
32. The plot of the novel is summarized by R. Lescot, *BEO*, 1943, 9, 95 *et seq.*
33. For Mas'ūd's literary profile, cf. Nikitine, *OM*, 1954, 34, 231, 233.

34. Avery, *op. cit.*, 321.
35. Comments on the work of Hījāzī occur in the studies of Lescot, *BEO*, 1943,9, 95 *et seq.*; Nikitine, *OM*, 1954,34, 230 *et seq.* Komissarov, *KS*, 1955,17, 56 *et seq.*, and *KS*, 1958,27, 73–81.
36. Komissarov in his monographic article, *KS*, 1958,27, 79, notes in this respect a favourable change in Hījāzī's most recent works.
37. Borecký, *op. cit.*, 239, mentions native critical notices which, on account of its style, describe this novel as a truly Persian work; it only remains to add that such a verdict confirms anew the well-known conservatism of Persian literary criticism.
38. Avery, *op. cit.*, 322.
39. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität Berlin*, 12 (1963), 717–21.
40. M. 'A. Islāmi Nidūshānī, *Yaghmā*, 14,11, 525; S. Parham, *Rāhnāmā-i Kitāb*, 4,10, 970; N. Daryā Bandārī, *Sukhan*, 12,8.
41. For more detailed material on Hidāyat's biography, see especially Monteil, *Sādeq Hidāyat*; Rozenfel'd, *KS*, 1955,17, 66 *et seq.*; Komissarov, Introduction to the Soviet selection from Hidāyat's works; B. Alawi, *Die Prophetentochter* (Berlin 1960), 271–95 and *Hadshi Agha* (Berlin 1963), 149–152, recently, *Modern Persian Prose* (Cambridge 1966), 137–201.
42. *Sukhan*, 1 (1332), 59, 121, 187, 281, 350, etc.
43. Republished in book-form in Tehran 1337; Kafka's translator is Ḥ. Qā'imīān.
44. Republished in *Nuvishtahā-i parākanda-i Šādiq Hidāyat* (Tehran 1334 sh.), 290–64.
45. *Ibid.*, 436 *et seq.*, 526 *et seq.*
46. Originally written in French under the title *Lunatique et Sampingué*, now published in a Persian translation in the collection of shorter prose works cited above, in note 44, 565–625.
47. For instance the collection of folk-songs entitled *Ausāna*, with a theoretical study, 'Folklor yā Farhang-i tūda – Folklore or Folk Culture', in *Sukhan* 1324,2–4; study of folk-customs, under the title *Nayrangistān*, and others.
48. Monteil, *op. cit.*, 47, note 1.
49. For an analysis of Hidāyat's work, see D. S. Komissarov, *op. cit.*, in Notes 6, 7, 22, 36, 41, pp. 417–8; G. Scarcia, *Annali (Napoli)*, Nuova serie, 1958,9, 103–23; V. Kubíčková, *Charisteria Orientalia Ioanni Rypka* (Praha 1956), 142–8; *Mélanges d'orientalisme (H. Massé)* (Tehran 1963), 198–205, etc.
50. Hidāyat's short stories are accessible in the collections: *Zinda ba gūr*, 'Buried Alive' (1309 sh.); *Si qatra khūn*, 'Three Drops of Blood' (1332 sh.); *'Alaviyya Khānum*, 'Madame Alaviyye' (1312 sh.); *Sāya-raushan*, 'Twilight' (1312 sh.); *Vagh-vagh sāhāb*, 'The Clapper' (1313 sh.) (satirical lashes and fables, in collaboration with M. Farzād); *Būf-i-kūr*, 'The Blind Owl' (1315 sh.); *Sag-i vilgard*, 'The Stray Dog' (1321); *Vilangārī*, 'Criss-Cross' (1323 sh.); *Hājji Āqā* (1324 sh.), then the stage play *Parvin dukhtar-i Sāsān*, 'Parvin, Daughter of the Sasanians' (1309 sh.); *Māziyār* (in collaboration with M. Minuvi (1312 sh.); *Afsāna-i āfarinish*, 'Legend of the Creation' (1325 sh.); other works are contained in the collection cited in note 44 above.
51. The work in question is the anthology *Shāh-kārḥā-i nathr-i fārsi-i mu'āšir* (Tehran 1951).
52. Further material in the biography of Bihādḥīn contained in L. Peysikov's Introduction to the Russian translation of his selected short stories, *Uzori na sholku* (Moscow 1961), 5–11.
53. Published in 1930, in Tehran, with an Introduction by Š. Hidāyat.
54. An exhaustive analysis of *Chamadān* is given by Rypka, *Ar.Or.*, 1935,7, 312 *et seq.*
55. On his translations of Chekhov, see Rozenfel'd, *L.* 1958, 77.
56. The novel has been translated into Polish by J. Bielawski and F. Machalski, with an Introduction by the latter. Published in Warsaw 1955; into German by H. Melzig (Berlin 1961).
57. Analysis of the work by Shoytov, *KS*, 159, 36, 23.
58. See further Borecký, *op. cit.*, 240 *et seq.*
59. Brief biographical and bibliographical data on the four last-mentioned writers are given by Faridūn Kār, in his anthology *Shu'lahā-i Javid* (Tehran 1336).

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# KEY TO THE SUBJECTS OF MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES IN THE PRECEDING BIBLIOGRAPHIES

(Names of authors etc. refer to B v1b, unless otherwise indicated)

- '*Abbās Marvazī*: Barthold ("To the Question").  
 "Abdullonoma": Sayfiyev (D 11b).  
 'Abdu'l-Vasī' *Jabālī*: Navā'i, 'Abdu'l-Ḥ.  
*Abū-Ishāq, Shāh Shaykh-*: Navā'i, 'Abdu'l-Ḥ.  
*Abu'l-'Alā Ganjavī*: Shu'ā'u'l-mulk.  
*Abu'l-Faḍl*: Ahuja (E v11).  
*Abū-Muslim*: Muḥ. 'Abdu'l-Ghanī (B 11).  
*Abū-Naṣr*: Ethé.  
*Abū-Nuvās*: Gabrieli – Minuvi.  
*Abū-Sa'īd b. abī'l-Khayr*: Nicholson.  
*Abū-Shakūr*: Dabīr Siyāqī.  
*Adīb Nishāpūrt*: Bāmdād – Ishrāq.  
*Adīb Šābir*: Nafisī.  
*Afḍal, Bābā-*: Dānish-puzhūh.  
*Ālī*: s. 'Aynī.  
*Afḍalu'd-dīn Kāshānī*: Modjtehedy.  
*'Ajzī, Saidahmad Šiddīqī*: Aslanov (D 11b).  
*Ākhund-zāda (Akhundov)*: s. *Fath-'Alī Ā*.  
*'Alavī*: Rypka (C) – Shoytov (C).  
*'Am'aq*: Šafā.  
*Aminzoda*: Qosimov (D 11c).  
*Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī*: Aliyev, G. Yu. – Baqoyev  
 – Genko – Habib (B v1b, E v) – Kégl – Maḥjūb  
 – Mu'in – Naqī (E v) – Srivastava (B v1b,  
 E v11) – Wahid.  
*Anṣārī Haravī*: de Beaurecueil – Ivanow – Levy  
 – Ritter – Zhukovskiy.  
*Anvarī*: Minuvi ("Ijt.") – Navā'i, 'Abdu'l-Ḥ. –  
 Vorozheykina – Zhukovskiy.  
*"Arabian Nights"* s. "Thousand and One Nights".  
*'Arīf*: Bombaci (C).  
*Asadī*: Bertel's – Chaykin – Ethé ("Tenzonen")  
 – Kiyā – Molé ("Garshāsp") – Rugarli – Rypka  
 (B 1v: "Mutaqārib").  
*Astrī*: Khodzhaev (D 11b) – Sayfulloyev (D 11c).  
*'Atṭār*: Badi'u'z-zamān – Bertel's – Garcin de  
 Tassy (B 111) – Lentz – Levend – Meier – Mik-  
 lukho-Maklay – Murtaḍavi – Nafisī – Ritter.  
*'Aufī*: Nicholson.  
*Auḥadī Marāghī*: Adīb Tūsi – Masrūr.  
*Avadht*: 'Ābidī (E v11).  
*Avicenna*: s. *Ibn Sīnā*.  
*Aynī, Sadrid-dīn*: Abdullozoda (D 11c, F) – Aziz-  
 qulov/Mullojonova (D 11c) – Aminova (D 11c)  
 – Amonov (D 11c) – Asrori (F) – Bečka (D 11c)  
 – Braginskiy (D 11c) – Halimov (D 11c) –  
 Hodizoda (D 11c) – Hoshim (D 11c) – Huseyn-  
 zoda (D 11c) – "Jashnomai Aynī" (D 11c) –  
 Lemenovskiy (D 11c) – Maniyozov (D 11c) –  
 Mulloqandov (D 11c) – Muqimov (D 11c) –  
 Nevskaya (D 11c) – Niyazov (D 11c) – "Ocherk  
 ist. tadzh. sov. lit." (D 11c) – Pankina (D 11c) –  
 Rahimov (D 11c) – Rajabov (D 11c) – "Sadrid-  
 din Aynī" (D 11c) – Sayfulloyev (D 11c) –  
 Sokolov/Demidchik (D 11c) – Shukurov (D  
 Wurmser (D 11c).  
*Ayyūqī*: Ateş.  
*Bābā-Tāhīr*: Abrahamian (F) – Adīb Tūsi –  
 Khānlari – Minorsky – Minuvi – Vorozhey-  
 kina – Yāsīmī.  
*Bābur*: Na'imuddin (E v11) – Ross (E v11) –  
 Schimmel (E v11).  
*Badā'ūnī*: Storey (E v11).



# SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Badī' u' z-zamān Hamadhānī*: Al-Kak.  
*Bahār*: Ishaque (C) – Klyashtorina – Peysikov (C) – Zakhoder (C).  
*Bahā' u' d-dīn "Bahā'ī"*: Burhān Āzād – Nafīsī.  
*Bahā' u' d-dīn Valad*: Khālid.  
*Bahā' u' llāh*: Esslemont (B III).  
*"Bahman-nāma"*: Kobidze.  
*"Bahrām Chōbīn"*: Gumilev (F).  
*"Bahrām u Gulandām"*: Gvakhariya (F) – Koroghli (F).  
*"Bakhtyār-nāma"*: Gvakhariya – Nöldeke.  
*Bal'amī*: s. *Ṭabarī*.  
*Bannā'ī s. Binā'ī (Binoī)*.  
*Bāqillānī*: von Grunebaum (B IV).  
*"Barlaam and Joasaph"*: Henning.  
*"Barzū-nāma"*: Rugarli.  
*Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī*: Ritter.  
*Bīdīl (Bēdīl)*: Abdul Ghani (E v) – Abdullayev/Shukurov (D IIb) – Akhtar (D IIb, E v) – Ayni, Kh. (D IIb) – Ayni, S. (D IIb) – Bausani (D IIb, E VII) – Dehotī (D IIb) – Klimovich (D IIb) – "Maḥmūd Shabistārī" – Mirzoyev (D IIb) – Mujaddidī (D IIb) – Muminov (D IIb).  
*Binā'ī (Binoī)*: Mirzoyev (B VIIb, D IIb) – Saljouqui (D IIb).  
*Bīrūnī*: Krause.  
*Bobo Yunus*: s. *Khudoydodzoda*.  
*Burhānī*: Mu'īn.  
*Buzurgmīhr*: Christensen (F).  
*Buzurgzoda*: Khromov (D IIC).  
*Chandar Bhān Brahman*: Husain, I. (E VII).  
*Chāndūlāl Shādān*: Shaukat (E VII).  
*Chekhov*: Rozenfel'd (C).  
*Dānish (Donish), Aḥm. Kalla*: Avezbayeva (D IIb) – Bečka (D IIb) – Bertel's (D IIb) – Hodizoda (D IIb) – Mirzoyev (D IIb) – Mirzozoda (D IIb) – Qosimzoda (D IIb) – Rajabov (D IIb) – Yuldashev (D IIb).  
*Dante*: Bertel's (Sanā'ī) – Nicholson.  
*Daqlqī*: Dabīr Siyāqī – Ritter.  
*Dārā Shukōh*: Ghauri (E VII) – Hasan, Z. (E VII) – Hasrat (E v, E VII) – Narain (E VII) – Qanungo (E v).  
*Darvīsh-i Dihakī*: Ahmadvov – Boldīrev.  
*Dashtī*: E'tesam-zadeh (C).  
*Donish*: s. *Dānish*.  
*Fahlavīyyār*: Adīb Ṭūsī – Kūhī Kirmānī.  
*Fakhr u' d-dīn Gurgānī*: Gabrieli – Gvakhariya – Gvakhariya/Todua – Minorsky – Mīnuvī – Molé – von Stackelberg – Zenker.  
*Falakī*: Hādī.  
*Fard*: Hasan, M. (E VII).  
*Farhād-Mīrzā*: Kégl (B VIIa: "Tanulmányok") – Massé – Mudarrīsī – Pinnock.  
*Farhād u Shīrīn*: Aliyev, G. Y. (F) – Duda – Timurtaş.  
*Farrukhī Sīstānī*: Ateş – Khaṭīb – Ritter – Rypka/Borecký – Yūsufī.  
*Farrukhī Yazdī*: Gadzhizade (C) – Osmanova (C).  
*Faṭḥ-'Alī Ākhund-zāda (Ākhundov)*: Aliyev, S. M. – Çaferoğlu – Djafarov – Sharif – Shoytov.  
*Faṭḥ-'Alī Shāh*: Safā'ī Malāyirī.  
*Fayḍī*: Desai (E VII) – Ghose (E VII).  
*Fayyāḍ (Fayyoz)*: Boldīrev (D IIb).  
*Figḥānī, Bābā*: Kausar – Suhaylī.  
*Firdausī*: Aliyev, G. Y. (B VIIb, F) – Andersen – Ateş – Aynī, S. – Bahār, M. T. – Bahārmast – Bajraktarević – Bartol'd – Bertel's – Cejpek (F) – Chaykin – Christensen – Coyajee – D'yakonov – Gaál – Geissler (F) – Giunashvili – von Grunebaum – Hansen – Humbert – Khadzade – Khayyāmpūr ("Yūs. u Zal.") – Kobidze (B VIIb, F) – Kowalski – Massé – Minorsky – Mīnuvī ("Yūs. u Zal.") – Molé – Nafīsī ("Yūs. u Zal."; "Vazn") – Nöldeke – Osmanov (B VIIb, F) – Ptitsīn – Ringgren (B VIIa) – Ritter – Romaskevich – Rozenberg – Rypka (B IV: "Mutaqārib"; B VIIb) – Šafā (B VIIa) – Salač – Samoylovich (D IIb) – Schack (F) – Shafaq – Starikov (F) – Ṭabāṭabā'ī Muḥīṭ – Tagirdzhanov ("Yūs. u Zal.") – Tardov – Trever – Tushishvili – Vachha – Wikander (B VIIa) – Wolff – Zhukovskiy (F); s. also *Shāh-nāma*.  
*Fitrat-i Zardūz*: Sulaymonova (D IIb).  
*Fitzgerald*: Arberry – Hikmat.  
*Fuchik*: Tabarov (D IIC).  
*Fuḍūlt*: Aliyev, G. Yu. – Arasli – Bertel's – Gulizade – Karahan – Köprülü.  
*Furūḡhī Bisṭāmī*: Bausani.  
*Gayōmart*: Hartman (F).  
*Ghaḍā'irī*: Dabīr Siyāqī.  
*Ghālib*: Ghafforov (E v) – Gilani (E VII) – Lakhanpal (E VII) – Pūlodova (E VII).  
*Ghanī*: Nāzuki (E VII).

# KEY TO SUBJECTS OF SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ghaz(z)ālī*: Asin – Smith.  
*Gobineau*: Molé.  
*Goethe*: Braginskiy – Burdach – Hāshimī – Lentz – Mommsen – Schaefer.  
*Gor'kiy*: Areshyan (C) – Filishtinskaya (C) – Matviychuk (F) – Rozenfel'd (C) – Shukurov (D IIC).  
*Gulkhani*: Muqimov (D IIB).  
*Gūrūghlī*: Braginskiy (F) – Cejpek (F) – Chicherov (F) – Chodzko (F) – Fatkhulloyev (F) – Klimovich (F) – Korev (F) – “Tadzhikskiy fol'klor” (F) – Zarifov (F) – Zhirmunskiy/Zarifov (F).  
*Hādī*: Mudarrisi.  
*Hāfīz*: Adīb Ṭūsī – Akhtar – Arberry – Bāmdād – Bausani – Boyce – Burdach (Goethe) – Dashti – Demidchik – Farzad – al-Furātī (B VIA) – Galimova – Ghani – Hāshimī – Hikmat – Humā'i – Hūman – Jacob – Jalālu'd-dīn Muḥ. Dav(v)ānī – Javādi – Kamāliyān – Kasravi – Khalkhālī – Khānlari – Košut – Koteishvili – Krims'kiy – Lescot – Maḥmūdī – Majewska – Makovel'skiy – Marr – Monteil – Mu'in – Murtaḍavi – Nafisi – Ohja (B VIA) – P. N. – Qazvinī – Rasmussen – Reyshman – Rijā'i – Ritter – Roemer – Rypka – Schaefer – Shomuhamedov – Stolz – Veit – Wickens.  
*Hakim Karim*: Kamoliddinov (D IIC).  
*Hālī*: Bausani (B VI).  
*Hallāj*: Massignon (B III, B VIB).  
*Hamgar*: Nafisi – Shu'ā'u'l-mulk.  
*Hasan Dihlavi*: Abbasov (E VII) – Borah (E VII).  
*Hātif*: Taeschner.  
*Hazīn*: Askari (E VII) – Sirishk.  
*Hibāl-rūdī*: Kégl (F).  
*Hidāyat, Ṣ*: “‘Aqā'id u afkār” (C) – Kamshad (C) – Kislyakov (F) – Komissarov (C) – Kubičková (C) – Lazard (C) – Monteil (C) – Nūrā'i (C) – Rozenfel'd (C) – Scarcia (C).  
*Hijāzī*: Jamāl-zāda (C) – Komissarov (C).  
*Hilālī (Hilolī)*: Aynī, K. S. (B VIB, D IIB) – Mirzoyev (D IIB) – Sattorov (D IIB).  
*Hozīq*: Amirqulov (D IIB) – Kayumov (D IIB).  
*Humā*: Humā'i.  
*Humām*: Nakhjavānī.  
*Humāyūn*: Banerji (E II) – Gulbadan (E II) – Hadī Hasan (E VII) – Jauhar Āftābchi (E VI).  
*Husayn b. Bāyqarā*: Bartol'd (D IB).  
*Ibn-i Yamīn*: Imronov – Khekmat – Mullojononov – Yāsīmī.  
*Ibn Mufarrigh*: Fück (B IV).  
*Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)*: Akhtar – Aynī, S. – Bādī'u'z-zamān – Bertel's – Corbin – Gardet – Goichon – Mirzoyev (D IIB) – Mu'in – Navā'i, 'Abdu'l-Ḥ. – Rempis – Siyāsī – Vajda (B I) – Zajaczkowski.  
*Ibn Ṭufayl*: Abdul Hai.  
*Ibnū'l-'Arabī*: Affī – Palmer (B III).  
*Ibnū'l-Muqaffā'*: Fück (B IV) – Ghufrānī – Iqbāl – Sourdel.  
*Ibodov, Domullo Halim*: Ahmadov (F).  
*Ikromī*: Boboyev (D IIC) – Hasanov (D IIC) – Huseynzoda (D IIC).  
*'Imādu'd-dīn*: Stolz.  
*Iqbāl*: Abdul Hakim (E VII) – Anikeyev (E V, E VII) – Bausani (E VII) – Courtois (E VII) – Enver (E V) – Fück (E VII) – Ghani (E I) – Husayn, M. (E VII) – Iqbal Singh (E V) – Khaṭībī (E VII) – Maitre, L.-C. (E V) – Marek (E VII) – Minuvī (E VII) – Nicholson (E VII) – Reyazul Hasan (E VII) – Roy (E VII) – Sachchindanand (E V) – Saiyidain (E V) – Schimmel (E V, E VII) – Vahid (E V) – Whittemore (E VII).  
*'Iraj-Mīrzā*: Rossi (C).  
*'Irāqī*: Ajuha (E VII) – Arberry – Ojha (B VIA).  
*'Iṣāmī*: Husain, M. (E VI, E VII).  
*'Ishqī*: Machalski (C).  
*“Iskandar-nāma”*: Bertel's (F) – Pfister (F).  
*Ismā'il I*: Minorsky.  
*I'timādu's-salṭāna*: Zhukovskiy.  
*Jabālī*: s. 'Abdu'l-Vasī' J.  
*Jājarmī*: Qazvinī (“Mu'nis”).  
*Jalālu'd-dīn Rūmī*: Abdul Hakim (E VII) – Afzal Iqbal – Bādī'u'z-zamān – Dashti – al-Furātī (B VIA) – Gauharin – Gölpınarlı – Hakim – Kégl – Kodve-Khorb – Murtaḍavi – Odilov – Richter – Ritter – Schimmel – Yaltkaya.  
*Jalīl, Rahim*: Otakhonova (D IIC) – Tabarov (D IIC).  
*Jamālu'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq*: Nafisi.  
*Jamālu'd-dīn Husayn Injū Shīrāzī*: Nazir (E VII).  
*Jamāl-zāda*: Alavi (C: “Sar o tah-e”) – Vassighi.

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- Jāmi*: Arberry – Bertel's – Blochmann (B IV) – Chaykin – Hashim – Hikmat – Kobidze – Kuliyeu – Lescot – Minuvi – Ojha (B VIA) – Ritter.
- Javharizoda*: s. *Suhayli*.
- Junayd*: Arberry.
- "Kalila va Dimna"*: Aliyev, Gh. (F) – "L'Âme de l'Iran" (B VIA: Massé) – Cejpek (F) – Chauvin (B I) – Mahjüb – Nöldeke (F) – Schulthess (F).
- Kalim Hamadhāni (Kāshāni)*: Anṣārī, Sh. Bēgum – Kishāvarz.
- Kalla*: s. *Dānish*.
- Kamāl Khujandī*: Ayni, S. – Braginskiy.
- Kamālū'd-dīn Ismā'īl*: Iqbāl – Masrūr – Vorozheykina.
- Kāmi Qazvinī*: Fakhru'z-zamān Bēgam (E VII).
- Karim Devona*: Nazarov (D IIB).
- Karim-Khān-Zand*: Navā'i (B II).
- Kay-Kā'ūs*: Frye – Iqbāl – Minuvi.
- Khāqāni*: Āmūzgār – Ateş – Boldirev – Chaykin – Dashti – Hādī Ḥasan (B VIA) – Kandī – Khanikof – Minorsky – Nāṣih – Rāynart (Reinert) – Rypka – Rzakulizade – Turjānizāda – Vil'chevskiy.
- Khayyām*: Akhtar – Aliyev, R. M./Osmanov – Arberry – Badī'u'z-zamān – Bajraktarević – Bolotnikov – Christensen – Csillik – Dashti – Machalski – "Maḥmūd Shabistari" – Minuvi – Moročnik/Rozenfel'd – Nafisi – Rashīdī Tabrizī – Rempis – Ritter – aṣ-Ṣarrāf – Varasteh – Yakānī – Zhukovskiy.
- "Khudāy-nāma"*: Kirste – Osmanov.
- Khudoydodzoda, Bobo Yunus*: Nudel' (D IIC).
- Khusrau Dihlavi*: s. *Amīr Kh. D.*
- "Khusrau u Shīrīn"*: Aliyev, G. Y. (F) – Demirtaş – Timurtaş – Zajaczkowski.
- Khusravāni*: Ethé.
- Khusravi*: Machalski (C).
- Khvājū*: Köprülü – Nafisi.
- Kisā'i*: Ethé – Ishaque.
- Kūhī, Bābā*: Bertel's – Tagirdzhanov – Vorozheykina.
- "Kūsh-nāma"*: Molé.
- Labībi*: Dabir Siyāqī – Rypka/Borecký.
- Lāhuti (Lohūti)*: Davronov (D IIC) – Germanetto (D IIC) – Huseynzoda (D IIC) – Isoyev (D IIC) – Muqimov (D IIC) – "Ocherk ist. tadzh. sov. lit." (D IIC) – Osmanova (C) – Shklovskiy (D IIC) – Shukūhi (D IIC) – Zand (D IIC).
- "Layli u Majnūn"*: Bitlisi (F) – Fück (B IV) – Krachkovskiy – Levend – Mahjüb.
- Lutfi*: Hoji (D IIC).
- al-Ma'arri*: Nicholson.
- Maftūn*: Nakhjavāni.
- Maghribi*: Adib Tūsi.
- Mahdi-Khān*: Cheyshivili – Samoylovich.
- Maḥmūd Shabistari*: Tarbiyat.
- Mahsati*: Ishaque (B VIB), C: "Poetesses" – Kishāvarz – Meier – Mushir-i Sālimi.
- Makhmūr*: Valikhojayev (D IIB).
- Maleho*: Mirzoyev (D IIB).
- Malang Jān*: Dvoryankov (F).
- Malik Qummi*: Nazir (E VII).
- Malkum-Khān*: Christensen (C) – Ibragimov (C) – Ṭabāṭabā'i (C).
- Manūchihri*: Ishaque – Qazvinī.
- Marzbān*: Gabrieli – Muḥaqqiq – Zajaczkowski.
- Masīh Kāshāni*: Pizhmān.
- Mas'ūd*: Jamāl-zāda (C).
- Mas'ūd-i Sa'd*: Qazvinī – Suhayli.
- Mijmar*: Ṭabāṭabā'i Muḥit.
- Mirshakar*: Bobokalonova (D IIC) – Kedrina (D IIC) – Mirzozoda (D IIC) – "Ocherk ist. tadzh. sov. lit." (D IIC) – Tabarov (D IIC).
- Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān*: Zhukovskiy.
- Muḥāsibt*: Smith.
- Muḥsin-i Fayḍ*: Bertel's.
- Muḥtasham*: Bayḍā'i Vaqār.
- Mu'izzī*: Khusravāni – Marek.
- Mujir*: Bāstāni-Rād.
- Munshi*: Baqir (E VII).
- Mushfiqi*: Ahrori (D IIB) – Semenov (D IIB).
- Muṭahhar-i Karā*: Mirza (E VII) – Shervāni (E VII).
- Najāt Isfahāni*: Gulchīn-i ma'āni.
- Najmū'd-dīn Kubrā*: Bertel's (D IIB).
- Nakhlī*: Sayfiyev (D IIB).
- Nakhshabī*: Chauvin (B I) – Pertsch.
- Nartes, legends of the*: "Antol. abkhazskoy, kabbardinskoy poezii" (F) – Chicherov (F) – Dalgat (F) – Dumézil (F).
- Nasafi*: Palmer (B III).
- Nashāt*: Qā'im-maqām.
- Nāṣir-i Khusrau*: Ashurov – Bertel's, A. Y. – Ethé – Habibov (F) – Ivanow – Machalski –

# KEY TO SUBJECTS OF SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Muḥaqqiq – Nikitina – Schaefer (B vīa) – Wickens.
- Naṣru'd-dīn Ṭūsī*: Humā'i.
- Naṣru'llāh*: Chauvin (B i: "Kalilah").
- Nāṭiq Makrānī*: Kausar (E vii).
- Navā'i (Navoi)*: Bartol'd (D īb) – Bertel's (D īib) – Boldīrev (B vīb, D īib) – Gandjei (D īib) – Hikmat – Levend – Semenov (D īib) – Tarlan (D īib) – Yakubovskiy (D īb).
- Nāzim (Nozim)*: Zuhuriddinov (D īib).
- Ni'matu'llāh*: Aubin – Ishaque – Nūr-bakhsh Kirmānī.
- Nithārt (Nisort)*: Boldīrev (D īib) – Ḥabībī (D īib).
- Niyozī*: Sharifov (D īic).
- Nizāmī*: 'Abdu'n-Na'im – Aḥmad 'Alī – Aliyev (B vīb, F) – Arasli – Bertel's (B vīb, F) – Boldīrev – Devek – Duda – Dunayevskiy – Gabrieli – Geissler (F) – Gulizade – Guseynov – Gvakhariya – Hikmat – Houtsma – Iqbāl (B īi) – Klimovich (B vīb, F) – Krachkovskiy (B vīb, F) – Krīmskiy – Maḥjūb – Makovel'skiy – Marr – McDonald – Mu'in – Pfister (F) – Resulzade – Reyhman – Ritter – Rypka (B iv, B vīa, B vīb) – Shaginyan – Shihābī – Ṭabāṭabā'i Muṣṭ. – Wesselski – Zachoder – Zajāczkowski; s. also: "Farḥād" – "Khusrau" – "Laylā" – "Turandot".
- Nizāmu'l-mulk*: Falsafi (B vīa) – Mīnuvī – Nafisi (Nizāmiyya) – Rippe (B īi) – Schabinger (B īi) – Tauer (B īi).
- Nizārī*: Bārādīn (Borodīn) – Bayburdī – Durri.
- Nozim*: s. *Nāzim*.
- Parvīn*: Ishaque (C: "Poetesses") – Kishāvarz (B vīa) – Rypka (C).
- Payrav Sulaymonī*: Aul (D īic) – Bečka (D īic) – Hoshim (D īic) – Khodoydodov/Najmiddinov (D īic) – Nasriddinov (D īic) – Tabarov (D īic).
- Pirmuhammadzoda*: Yusupov (D īic).
- Platen, Graf von*: Veit.
- Proverbs*: Kégl (F) – Philot (F).
- Pūlodī*: Atokhon (D īic).
- Pūr-i Bahā*: Kubičková – Minorsky.
- Pushkin*: Braginskiy – Rozenfel'd (C).
- Qā'ānī*: "Furūghī" – Kégl (B vīa: "Tanulmányok") – Kubičková – Ṭabāṭabā'i Muḥīṭ.
- Qābūs*: Iqbāl.
- "*Qābūs-nāma*": s. *Kay-Kā'ūs*.
- Qāsim Kāhī*: Hadi Hasan (E vi, E vii).
- Qāsimu'l-anvār*: Massé.
- Qaṭrān*: Dhukā – Kasravī (B vīa, B vīb) – Ross.
- Qulī Quṭb Shāh*: Basu (E vii).
- Qurratu'l-'ayn Ṭāhira*: Ishaque (B vīb, C: "Poetesses") – Root.
- Quṭb*: Zajāczkowski.
- Rābī'a*: Smith.
- Rābī'a Quzdārī (Khuzdārī)*: Ishaque (B vīb, C: "Poetesses") – Kausar (E vii) – Kishāvarz (B vīa) – Meier ("Die schöne Mahsatī") – Mushir-i Sālīmī (B vīa).
- Rahīmī*: Kirilov (D īic) – Ma'sumī (D īic).
- Rāqīm, Sayyid*: Semēnov (D īib).
- Rashīd-i Vaṭvāt*: Horst – Iqbāl.
- Rashīdu'd-dīn*: Jahn (E īi).
- Riḍā-qulī Hidāyat*: Churchill – Kégl.
- Riyāḥī*: Ṣafā'i Malāyirī.
- Rūdaktī*: Aliyev, Gh. (F) – Amonov – Aynī, S. – Azizqulov – Badī'u'z-zamān – Basirov – Bertel's, A. Y. – Dabir Siyāqī – Huseynzoda (F) – Ishaque – Kobidze – Mirzoyev – Mirzozade (F) – Mu'in – Nafisi – "Namunahoi fol'klor" (F) – Ross – Tal'man/Yunusov (B īi) – Zand.
- Ruknā*: s. *Mastḥ Kāshānī*.
- Rustam*: Maskūb.
- Ṣabā*: Nakhjavānī.
- Ṣabāḥī*: Bayḍā'i.
- Ṣabūḥī*: Ṣafā'i Malāyirī.
- Sa'dī*: Adīb Ṭūsī – Akhtar – Aliyev, R. M. – Aynī, S. – Bacher – Badī'u'z-zamān – Chaykin – Dashti – Ḥālī – Iqbāl – Javādī – Krachkovskiy – Massé – Murtaḍavī – Nafisi – Qazvinī – Sultanov – Taymas – Todua.
- Ṣadrā (Ṣadru'd-dīn)*: Abū-'Abdī'llāh – Mishkāṭ-u'ddīn.
- Sadri Ziyo*: Siddiqov (D īib).
- Ṣafā Isfahānī*: Ishraq.
- Ṣahābī*: Ṭabāṭabā'i Muḥīṭ.
- Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād*: Bahmanyār – Nāshīh.
- Ṣā'ib*: Genceli.
- Saidalī Valizoda*: Amonov (F).
- Saidmurodov*: Mirsaidova (D īic).

# SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Salari*: Desai (E VII).  
*Salmān-i Sāvajī*: Yāsīmī.  
*"Sām-nāma"*: Hādī Ḥasan (B VIA).  
*Sanā'i*: Bertel's – Khalilu'llāh – Kégl – Mīnuvī – Nicholson – Ritter.  
*Sanī'u'd-daula*: Zhukovskiy.  
*Sarmad*: Abdu'l-Wali (E VII) – Asīrī (E VII) – Hashmī (E VII).  
*Saudā (Savdo)*: Azizqulov (D IIB) – Galimova (D IIB).  
*Sāya*: Klyashtorina (C).  
*Sayf-i Sarāyī*: Bodrogligeti – Taymas.  
*Sayf-i Bukhārī*: Blochmann (B IV) – Mirzoyev (D IIB).  
*Sayyidā Nasafī (Sayyido)*: Mirzoyev (D IIB) – Ptitsin (D IIB).  
*Selim I*: Horn.  
*Shahīd*: Ishaque.  
*Shāhīn (Shohin)*: Khayyāmpūr – Mirzozoda (D IIB).  
*"Shāh-nāma"*: Maskūb – Osmanov; s. also *Firdausī* – "*Khudāy-nāma*".  
*"Shahriyār-nāma"*: Aynī, K. S.  
*Shakespeare*: Hikmat.  
*Shams-i Qays*: Adīb Ṭūsī ("*Fahlavīyyāt*").  
*Shamsu'd-dīn Kāshānī*: Murtaḍavī.  
*Shaybānī*: Bonelli – Kégl.  
*Shifā'i*: Āzād – Suhaylī.  
*Shihāb*: Bahār – Buzurg Niyā – Ṭabāṭabā'i Muḥīṭ.  
*Shohin*: s. *Shāhīn*.  
*Shūrīda*: Faṣīḥī – Hikmat.  
*"Shūrob"*: Karimov (D IIC) – Saloh (D IIC).  
*Shiddiqī*: s. '*Ajzī*.  
*"Sindbād-nāma"*: Bertel's – Dabīr Siyāqī – Ol'denburg – Perry; cf. B VII s.v.  
*Sirus*: Hoshim (D IIC).  
*Sodiq*: Karimov (D IIB).  
*Suhaylī Javharizoda*: Amonov/Sayfulloyev (D IIC).  
*Suhravardī*: Badī'u'z-zamān – van den Bergh – "*Hāfiz*" (Wilberforce-Clarke) – Ritter.  
*Surūsh*: Kégl (B VIA: "*Tanulmányok*").  
*Sūzanī*: Bertel's.  
*Ṭabarī*: Romaskevich.  
*Ṭāhīr*: s. *Bābā-Ṭ*.  
*Ṭāhira*: s. *Qurratu'l-'ayn*.  
*Ṭāj Rēza*: Abdus Sattar Khan (E VII).  
*Ṭālibūf*: Ādamiyyat.  
*Tanūkhī*: Gabrieli.  
*Ṭāqī Aḥadī*: Nazir Ahmed (E VII).  
*Tarbiyat*: Browne (B VII).  
*Ṭarzī Afshār*: Bertel's – Kasravī (B VIA).  
*"Taurāt"*: Dānish-puzhūh.  
*ta'ziya*: Baumgartner (F) – Cejpek (F) – Duda (F) – Krims'kiy (F) – Litten (F) – *Théâtre persan* (F) – Virolleaud (F).  
*"Thousand and One Nights"*: Bouisson (F) – Cejpek (F) – Cosquin (F) – Eliséeff (F) – Gerhardt (F) – Henninger (F) – Lahy-Hollecque (F) – Montet (F) – Oestrup (F) – Paret (F) – Rescher (F).  
*"Tristan"*: Zenker.  
*Ṭughrā'i*: Schabinger.  
*"Turandot"*: Gozzi (F) – Meier (F) – "Mille et un jour" (F) – Nizāmī ("*Haft Paykar*") – Schiller (F).  
*Tursunzoda*: Boboyev (D IIC) – Niyozmuhammadov (D IIC) – "Ocherk ist. tadzh. sov. lit." (D IIC) – Osmanova (D IIC) – Qosimov (D IIC) – Sayfulloyev (D IIC) – Shukurov (D IIC) – Tabarov (D IIC).  
*"Ṭūft-nāma"*: Chauvin (B I) – Pertsch.  
*Tutmacī*: Levend.  
*'Ubayd Zākānī*: Bahā'u'd-dīn 'Āmilī – Christensen – Dāvarī – Javān-mard – Mīnuvī – Radzhabov.  
*Ulugh-Beg*: Bartol'd (D IB).  
*Ulughzoda*: "Ocherk ist. tadzh. sov. lit." (D IIC) – Shukurov (D IIC) – Yusupov (D IIC).  
*'Unsurī*: Bertel's – Tarbiyat.  
*'Urṭī*: 'Ābid – Ghose (E VII) – Muḥammad 'Alī – Na'imuddīn (B VIIb, E VII) – Ojha (B VIA).  
*Uzeir Gadzhibekov*: Korev (F).  
*Vāḍīḥ (Vozeh)*: Hodizoda (D IIB) – Ne'matzodah (D IIB).  
*Vafo*: Asrorī (D IIC).  
*Valizoda*: Ma'sumī (D IIC).  
*Vāṣifī (Vosifī)*: Aynī, S. (D IIB) – Boldirev (D IIB) – Mirzoyev (D IIB).  
*"Vis u Rāmīn"*: s. *Fakhrū'd-dīn Gurgānī*.  
*Viṣāl*: Kégl – Navābī – Rūḥānī Viṣāl – Ṭabāṭabā'i Muḥīṭ.  
*Vozeh*: s. *Vāḍīḥ*.

# KEY TO SUBJECTS OF SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Yaghmā*: Ismailzade – Kégl (B via: “Tanulmányok”) – Sajjadi – Yaghmā’i.

*Ya’qūb-i Layth-i Šaffārī*: Bāstāni (B II).

*Yūshij*: Klyashtorina (C) – Machalski (C) – Munibar (C).

“*Yūsuf u Zalikha*”: Gvakhariya-Hikmet s. also *Firdausī*.

*Yusufī*: Mirzozoda (D IIc) – Rahimzoda/Farhat (D IIc).

*Zahīrī*: Bertel’s.

*Zēbu’n-nisā*: Ghafforov (D IIb) – Ishaque (E v) – Shibli (E v).

*Zhukovskiy*: Romaskevich (F).

*Zuhūri Turshizi*: Nāzir.



Map to:  
Rypka,  
History of Iranian Literature  
Scale 1:11 000 000  
0 100 200 300 km  
International Boundaries